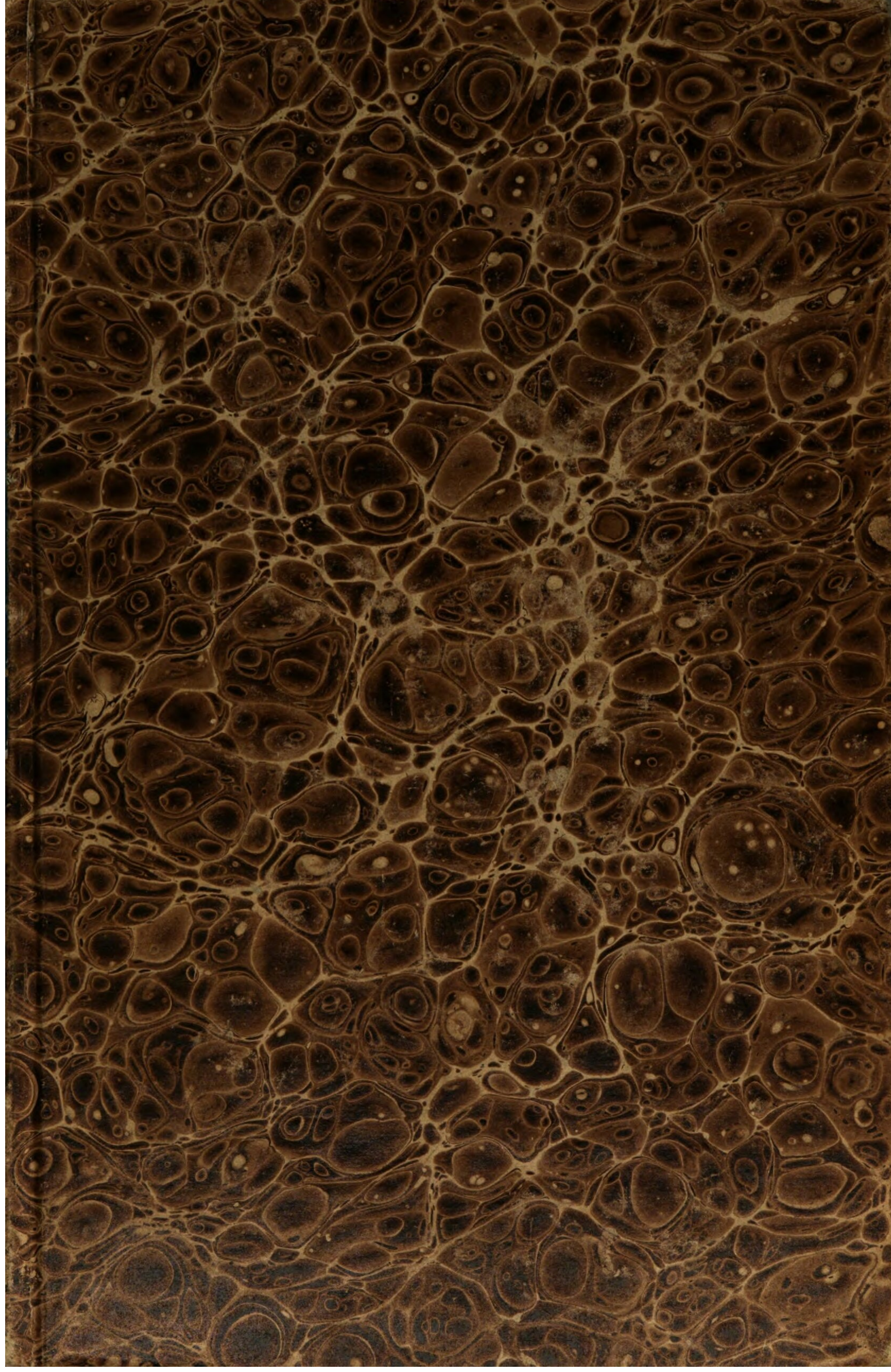
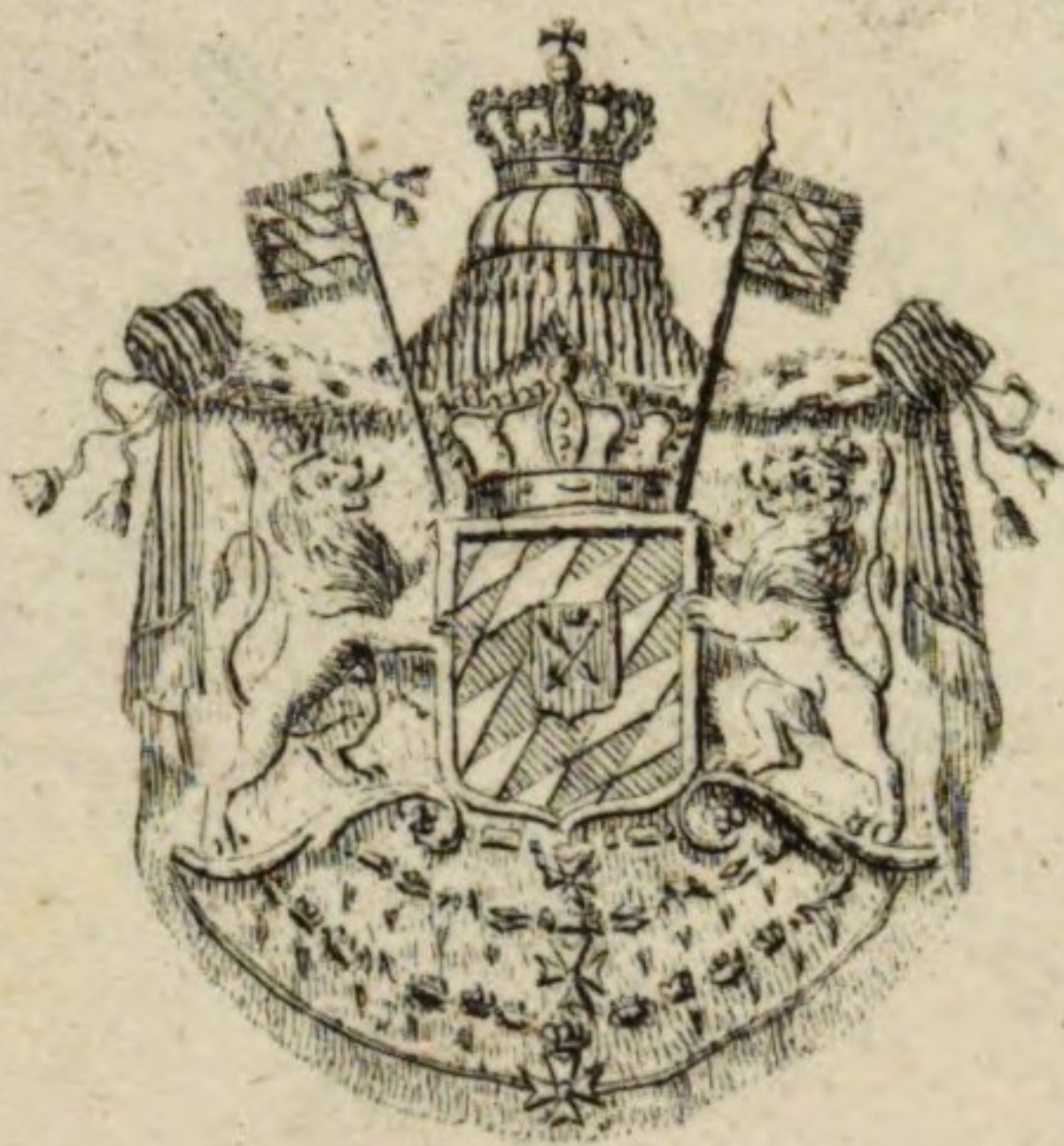




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QUEEN CAROLINE .

Engraved by J. Hopwood Jun^r. from a Miniature in the possession of a Lady of Quality.

Published by Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row June 10 1820.

Memoirs of
CAROLINE
 Queen Consort
 OF
ENGLAND.
 from
 the earliest period of her Eventful Life,
 BY
ROBERT HUISE ESQ.



L O N D O N .

Printed for Tho^s Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, July 8, 1820.



PREFACE.

ENGLAND, although at peace with the whole world, presents at this time the most extraordinary spectacle of a disunited nation, on a subject which not only individually, but generally considered, concerns its dearest and most important interests. The attachments and the prejudices of every individual, from the humble peasant who occupies a cottage, to the more exalted and dignified courtier near the throne of the Monarch, have been all called into action, and have exhibited themselves in a manner truly conformable to the national character in its best and most amiable features. There is not a nation in the scope of the civilized world, which enters with such an enthusiastic spirit into the cause of oppressed and injured innocence as the English; they pride themselves in the redress of unmerited wrongs; and, although they may for

a time be led away by the noble and generous disposition of their nature, to commit those breaches of the peace which are contrary to the well-being of an established government, yet let it be considered that a foreign enemy has only to shew himself with a menacing power against the existence and the integrity of the nation, than, on the spur of the moment, one sentiment, one impulse, one noble ardour, appears to actuate the whole body of the people ; and although they may differ within themselves in regard to national affairs, they still exhibit on all occasions loyalty to their King, submission to the laws, and devotion to that Constitution which was gained by the blood of their forefathers, and which they are bound to leave to their progeny in its own hallowed and original purity.

The historian, in casting his eye over the events which happen on the great theatre of the world, gladly seizes upon those which carry with them a paramount interest and importance. He traces them from their source, through every ramification, till the final effects display themselves, diffusing weal or woe over the congregated mass of the people. Many, indeed, and highly important

are the events which have lately occurred in the history of this country, and ample materials have been furnished for the instruction and edification of posterity ; but we may safely challenge the pages of history to produce one event which has excited the attention and the enthusiasm of the people of this country in a greater degree, than the return of the Queen Consort of England to the bosom of that people whom she knew are ever the foremost to shew themselves in the front of danger, when the defence of injured innocence is the question.

It is, however, not the intention of the author of the following Work to prejudge the question of the guilt or innocence of the illustrious Personage, the memoir of whose life he has undertaken ; according to the true spirit of the British constitution, he is bound to believe every one innocent, until the most decisive evidence, not purchased nor suborned, and which has undergone the severest ordeal which human ingenuity or human talent can invent, has determined—irrefutably determined, the guilt of the accused.

The return of the Queen Consort is an event unparalleled in its general features,

and unexampled in its consequences, with any that can be produced in the whole range of the English history. Many may not see the dreadful effects which may flow from this transaction, and, viewing it in a particular light, may tamper with it as a thing of mere popular curiosity ; but no real friend of his country, no sincere lover of the throne, no manly, no high-minded assertor of female character and of female virtue, can possibly view it in any other light, than as an event of the deepest interest, and of the greatest importance, affecting the peace and welfare of the country.

The task before us is of the most delicate and painful nature ; it demands from us a greater portion of calmness, of patience, and of attention, than any other question which ever came under our consideration. We know that every sentiment that is uttered relative to the presumed guilt or innocence of the illustrious Personage, is, according to the view which it takes of the subject, an appeal to the prejudices and the passions of every individual ; but it is not our intention to enter into an extraneous nor a diffuse investigation of those points which bear not immediately upon the question be-

fore us. We shall give an ungarbled statement of the facts as they gradually arise to the public eye, during the important investigation ; but we do not say, that we have it not in our power to lay before the Public many interesting events, which, through the medium of a particular quarter, have been transmitted to us—events which have excited the general attention of the country, but over which a most mysterious veil has hitherto been thrown.

The author openly acknowledges, that he has been on terms of the greatest intimacy with a most celebrated literary character, who attended her Majesty from this country in her suite, and by whom much important information, and many original documents, have been most kindly transmitted, to be incorporated in the present work. But no vain egotist has been tempted for disclosures, nor has any wretch been tempted to treachery, for the purpose of pursuing a safer and surer game of misrepresentation. We have taken our footing on the broad basis of impartiality ; where censure is due, there let censure be heaped ; but woe to the individual, who for the sake of private gain, or an empty love of popularity, will injure

one single hair of the head of innocence. The hour is not far distant when we shall stand at a more awful bar than an earthly one; then the judgment which we have meted to others, will be meted to ourselves.

MEMOIRS,

&c.

MANY years had elapsed since death had marked for its victims any members of the royal family of England: after a course of a well-spent life the aged stood grey and reverend, looking forward to a crown more durable and lasting than an earthly one; and the younger, with the beautiful example of their parents before them, gave an additional splendour to the dignity of royalty, by the practice of christian benevolence, and by the exercise of every relation which belongs to the private or the exalted station. On a sudden “Death rioted in our palaces,” the fairest scion which ever sprang from the branch of royalty rose from its native purity, flourished in its prime, blossomed,—bore a fruit,—and died. Not content with two victims, the mother and her child, onward strode the tyrant in his desolating spirit; he smote the aged and the young; they fell before him followed by a nation’s tears, and the royal family of England, hitherto compact, beheld its chasms and its blanks.

But it is the living that feel the loss of those who are no more amongst them, and no sooner had our late venerable and truly amiable monarch been gathered to his fathers, than circumstances arose not only of a political but private nature, which placed the country in a state of ferment and disquiet. Amongst those circumstances, the peculiar situation of the Queen Consort of England appeared to claim a paramount attention, and certainly throughout the annals of this country it is impossible to find any case analogous to that which presented itself in the person of the Queen Consort of England on the demise of George III., at a time when her claim to the crown, as the consort of the King, in succession, became indisputable. At that period, we find her an exile from the country, living as it were in a land of her own adoption, and bereft of every claim and privilege to which her illustrious rank entitled her. To enter at this time into an investigation of the causes which impelled her to take refuge in a foreign country, would not only be diffuse, but could only be regarded as a mere repetition of those circumstances which are too unhappily in the recollection of the majority of the people of this nation. She left the country leaving behind her an only child, attached to her by the strongest bonds of affection, ever woven round the human heart: she parted from the dearest object she held on earth, unconscious, whether in the womb of futurity that moment was

germinating, which at a future period would restore them to each other. With the last view of England, she took the last view of those whom she loved, for they fell one by one from the tree of life, and left her desolate, and, like the blighted tree of the desert, standing solitary, and alone. In the midst of strangers, foreign to herself in language and in manners, she sought an asylum from those, whom she considered to be her enemies, and in the view of the scenes of other lands, she hoped to find an oblivion of those of that country where she had left all that she held dear on earth. To give a recital of what has been ignorantly termed by many the romantic and Quixotic excursions of her royal highness, under which title she then travelled, could only be considered in this part of her Memoirs as extraneous and premature, for we should be necessarily called upon to prejudge the propriety or the innocence of several circumstances which have undergone the most solemn investigation, and which will be regularly detailed in the course of this work.

On the demise of George III. the Princess of Wales became by marriage the Queen Consort of England, and she was accordingly invested with all the rights and privileges attached to that exalted station. But whether she would ever have claimed them, or whether she would have renounced that mode of life to which she had so long accustomed herself, must for certain rea-

sons remain enveloped in uncertainty; yet had it not been for particular indignities and affronts which her majesty conceived were offered to her, and to which she could not conscientiously submit, without compromising her dignity as queen of one of the first kingdoms of the world, and her character as a female, it is perhaps no vague supposition, that her majesty would have remained in a state of comparative obscurity, nor have boldly rushed into the very presence of those individuals by whom she conceived herself to be so openly insulted and degraded. Extremes in all cases bear with them a positive degree of danger, and in no point is an extreme more to be avoided than in that which bears a particular reference to the feelings of the human heart; in which the nicest principles which constitute the bonds of society are not only materially concerned, but without the practice of which all virtue, all decorum, all morality, may be considered as a mere empty sound. There are periods in life in which forbearance wears the hue of criminality, and the innocent may be goaded on to that keen sense of suffering, that nature appears on a sudden to give them additional power, and they burst in an unexpected moment into the presence of those who are their secret and interested accusers,—braving them to a verification of the imputed guilt, and, in the bold and undaunted tone which innocence only can use, demanding an acquittal or death.

A short time before the demise of his late majesty, it was the intention of his ministers to have submitted a bill to parliament respecting the peculiar situation of her royal highness the Princess of Wales, the nature, or precise meaning of which bill was never generally known, as the decease of his majesty rendered its provisions nugatory ; for immediately on that event taking place, she became queen consort of England*, and therefore entitled to her state and establishment as such. It was, however believed, that the intended bill was one of attainder, and which would have deprived her royal highness of all claim to the throne of this country. Another singular circumstance arose from the decease of his majesty, which was, that the provision of 35,000*l.* a year for her royal highness was made for her establishment in quality of princess of Wales, and only during her continuance in that station. On her royal highness becoming queen consort, she was therefore without a penny of revenue.

It will be however necessary to give a slight sketch of her proceedings just previous to the period of his majesty's decease, and in one of her letters dated Marseilles, the 26th of October 1819, her royal highness says—

“ During the five years of my long absence

* It may be necessary to remark, that the queen can be either *Queen Regent*, *Queen Consort*, or *Queen Dowager*, but she is not the *Queen of England* until crowned.

from my dear Old England, I can assure you it has been the first real happy moment I felt, having received such satisfactory information respecting the feelings of the people of England towards me. It has been the most gratifying communication to my mind, and I trust to Heaven I shall ever continue to deserve their good opinion. My traducers and enemies in England have again held secret inquisition at Milan, through the means of spies and many old servants who have been sent from the house for bad conduct.

“ A Mr. C——, Mr. P——, a Colonel B——, and Lord S——, have been making all sorts of inquiry into my private conduct. My legal advisers were informed of this in April last, and I should have gone to London at that period, had I not been otherwise advised, it being the wish of my legal advisers that they should first see me in France. I came to Lyons for that purpose, and after waiting anxiously their arrival for some weeks, I found they could not meet me. The air being too cold for my health, I took the resolution of fixing my winter residence at Marseilles, where I have been two months, and expected to see my legal advisers, but I have been again disappointed, and Heaven knows when they will be able to meet me. I have been much alarmed about a rumour relating to our ever-beloved and lamented king's health; in the event of any thing happening to our reverend monarch, I put

my only trust in the generosity of the great nation, to protect me from the hands of my enemies. I have the pleasure to tell you that all my debts in England and Italy have been paid.

“CAROLINE, Princess of Wales.”

In regard to the inquisition at Milan, briefly hinted at by the princess, it is certain that a sort of extra-official examination did take place of the conduct of her royal highness, which examination was conducted by fourteen persons, who examined the discarded servants of her royal highness, and on whose testimony the charges which are to be brought against her royal highness are founded. But Mr. Brougham has declared that although the Milan board sat for ten months, he did not say that ten months, or ten weeks would be required to blow the report of that board into the air. One of the servants who was examined, had committed a felony, and had been therefore discharged by the princess from her service, and the evidence to prove it was a peasant, who, if the charges are gone into, must be followed and found. It is not, therefore, to be supposed that the evidence of such a servant can be received without making allowance for the disposition with which he tenders that evidence, which must be evidently under the influence of pique and revenge. But the most glaring case of the dishonourable interference of particular individuals in regard to the conduct of the princess, at this period, was that of

Baron Ompteda, the Hanoverian ambassador, whose name ought to be branded with infamy wherever it is known or mentioned.

This man had been most graciously and hospitably received by her royal highness, he had insinuated himself into her confidence,—he had partaken largely of her liberality—he had passed several months at a time under her roof—this man, not indeed the envoy of Hanover to this country, but to the Holy See, was discovered not merely spying into her actions—bribing strangers to watch her, and even bribing her own servants, but it was found out that he employed a smith to pick the locks of her writing desk, in order to examine any papers that might be in her possession. Unluckily for him, that which he found proved that he had been on a false scent, and demonstrated the innocence, instead of the guilt, of the illustrious personage. A young naval officer to whom the transaction became known, felt incensed and indignant at such a base attempt. No wonder that his passions should be excited, that he should feel warmly and forcibly, when such a proceeding was pursued towards his mistress and benefactress. Actuated by such feelings he demanded personal satisfaction, the baron being at that time beyond the bounds of his mission. He immediately made a movement—a backward movement—to the city of Milan, where he was vainly sought for in his fastnesses. Thus menaced he retreated to the mountains, where a sort of

mountain warfare was carried on against him by the gallant lieutenant, but without success, and at length the baron was expelled from the Austrian territories, not indeed for picking locks, but for refusing to fight a duel. Let it not, however, be supposed that any instructions had been given to the baron for such dishonourable conduct, by the Hanoverian or the English governments. It has been most completely disavowed, and from that quarter which sets that charge against it completely at rest.

The princess found herself so very uncomfortable at Marseilles, under the French government, that she determined to leave it, and the following letter which is dated, Marseilles, 6th of January, 1820, gives her own sentiments on the subject:—

“ I should not have taken up my pen so soon to trouble you, if I had not received this morning a letter from Paris, from a particular friend, which communication stated to me, that the English ambassador mentioned the impossibility of his paying me due respect, and assured my friend that the government at Paris, he feared, would make my residence there far from agreeable, and my friend advised me not to visit Paris under such circumstances. I never had any wish to visit that metropolis, but the desire alone of seeing my legal advisers, and that was the sole object of my travelling into France. I am so uncomfortable here under such a government, that I intend

leaving Marseilles on the 20th of this month, and shall return into Italy.

“ In case my presence should be necessary in England, I will come by sea, and not expose myself to the possibility of being badly received by the family of the Bourbons. The present king, when in a distressed situation, was well received by my late father's court at Brunswick palace, and every comfort was offered to him : but such great personages have the talent to forget where they have received civilities. In a strange country, I think the daughter should at least have been kindly received, without pomp or parade, but in a friendly way ; that was all I expected, as I travelled *incognito*.

CAROLINE, Princess of Wales.”

Her royal highness on leaving Marseilles, directed her route towards Rome, and in letters received from her dated Rome, she complains of not having received any messenger from this government, announcing the demise of our late lamented sovereign. She appears to have been treated in the holy city with every species of indignity, and it was no sooner known that she was Queen Consort of England, than her guard of honour was withdrawn, because the British government had not acknowledged her under that title. Her majesty remonstrated against this act, and the following is a copy of a letter from the Secretary of State's office, in Rome, to the Queen of England's chamberlain, dated February 24, 1820:—

“The cardinal secretary of state received yesterday evening the request, to cause a guard to be placed at the door of the mentioned palace, and likewise has made known to him, that a categorical answer was expected upon this subject. The observations which the above said cardinal made yesterday morning, verbally, when you, by orders you had received, called at his apartments, not having permitted him to answer directly to the royal personage who did him the honour to write to him, is under the necessity of requesting you to lay before the same the following :

“His holiness’s government cannot grant the guard to my lady the Countess Oldi*. No guard is given to private persons; and when even royal princes travel *incognito*, under a private name, they do not receive this distinction. There is actually at Rome no instance of this. The papal government did not fail in paying this honour to the Princess of Wales during her stay in this capital on a former occasion. The royal person, however, who has now come to Rome, is not announced as the Princess of Wales, but as the Queen of England, and for this the guard is requested. But as no communication has been made to his holiness’s government by the government of his majesty the King of England and Hanover, upon the change that has taken place, nor upon the rank of the said royal person, the papal government does not

* The travelling title assumed by the queen.

know that the Queen of England is in Rome, and in consequence cannot grant a guard to the same. Whenever the government of his holiness may receive from that of his majesty the King of England and Hanover, the usual notification upon the change that has taken place with the royal person in question, he will consider it an imperious duty to pay to the Queen of England all the honours due to her.

(Signed) "C. CARDINAL GONSALVI."

On the subject of this indignity to the queen, at Rome, Mr. Brougham said in the House of Commons—

"Baron Reding was now the Hanoverian minister at Rome, and his conduct towards her majesty was also worthy of remark. The moment it was notified by the bishops to the chief of the consistory at Rome, that her majesty's name was not inserted in the Liturgy, the body-guard which had previously been allowed to her, was immediately withdrawn: but that was not all—the heads of the government affected not to know her—they pretended that she came concealed as the Countess of Oldi, as she had before done; and because she was not acknowledged by this government, because slight and disrespect were offered to her by the ministers of her own country, they thought they would be justified in doing the same. But Baron Reding, the Hanoverian minister, went a great deal farther. He would not call

her by the title of “Queen;” he would not call her by the title of “Princess of Wales;” but he sometimes called her “Caroline of Brunswick,” in so many words, without the epithet of “Princess,” which she certainly was entitled to before her marriage; and at other times he called her by a different name—a name which had been never heard elsewhere,—“Caroline of England,”—a designation that had never at any period of her life belonged to her. This he mentioned, to shew how far insolence and absurdity might be carried. Every Englishman who entered his excellency’s society, must have heard him talk in this manner of the consort of his own sovereign, who, he was persuaded, had too much the feelings of a gentleman, of a prince, and of a man of honour, to allow any individual to insinuate himself into his favour by treating a female rudely and disrespectfully.”

Her majesty, it appears, had now formed the decided resolution of visiting England, for in one of her letters, she expresses a great wish to have Buckingham-house for her palace; she also desired that the discharged servants of the late Duke of Kent, or those in the service of his royal highness Prince Leopold, might be employed for her in preference to any others, and her majesty also desired in the event of the refusal of government to find her a palace, that a house might be taken for her near Dover. At this time her majesty was preparing to leave Rome for Pesaro, and thence

it was her positive intention to repair to England, with the least possible delay.

On the 1st of February, Mr. Sicard, formerly a member of the household of her majesty when Princess of Wales, and, since her departure to the Continent, acting as her agent in London, arrived at Dover, where he embarked immediately for France. While at Dover, he stated himself to be the bearer of letters to the queen; that he was directed to proceed in the first instance to Leghorn, and in the event of her majesty not being there, to seek her until he found her residence, and accompany her majesty to England with all possible speed.

Amongst the many marked indignities which the queen supposes to have received from the ministers, was the omission of her name in the Liturgy. This appears to have given deep and well-merited offence, for it was literally blazoning her majesty's disgrace within the walls of every church in the country; and although some clergymen, with an honest and upright zeal, did actually include her name in the Liturgy, yet the instances were solitary, and the general omission of it appeared to the people as a determination on the part of the ministers to mark the Queen of England as an improper person to be included in the prayers for the royal family.

On this subject, Mr. Canning said in the House of Commons—

“ So long as the late king was upon the throne,

and the illustrious person was Princess of Wales, there was no occasion for any change. There being no necessity for money, no other reason could induce the government to come to Parliament. But when occasion arose, when the situation of the parties was changed, something must have been done ; it was no longer possible to stand still,—and then the change was made in the Liturgy. This had been represented as a most wanton aggravation, and an act of injustice, for which there had been no necessity. But on a new reign, new arrangements must have been made, and such an arrangement had been made as was in the power of the crown, and was necessary or suitable, not if the queen lived in London, but when she lived abroad, and in a state of continued separation. Such a proceeding was not without precedent. The Duke of Cumberland had been prayed for in the reign of George II. ; but the practice of praying for him by name was discontinued on the accession of George III. It could not have been supposed that he had been less respected because this change had been made ; but the change had been made because his relation to the throne had been changed. But in his opinion this would have been wrong in the present case, if that measure had been alone, and had not formed a part of the general arrangement. But it had been part of the general arrangement which had been understood as agreed upon when a change should take place. The honourable and learned gentlemen said it had

preceded the other arrangements; it was the first step in the execution, but it was part of the whole, and part of the plan which the honourable and learned gentleman was confidently expected to carry into execution. It has been a part of the same arrangement, founded upon the consideration of the queen's continued residence abroad."

Now, with all due deference to the splendid talents of so accomplished a statesman, the reasons given by him for striking out her majesty's name from the Liturgy are lamentably deficient in that solidity of judgment, and that force of conviction, which in general distinguish his parliamentary speeches. Will Mr. Canning pretend to say, that the omission of the name of the Duke of Cumberland in the Liturgy on the accession of George III., was solely owing to his relation to the throne being changed? by the same parity of reasoning it might be urged that the name of the Duke of York ought to have been struck out of the Liturgy on the decease of the Princess Charlotte, for his relation to the throne was then evidently changed. It has been stated that there was nothing galling in the exclusion. How! was not the circumstance of the queen's name being struck out of the Liturgy, adduced by the government of the Pope,—the most contemptible and imbecile upon earth,—as a reason for not paying her majesty those honours to which her rank in life so justly entitled her? and, if

the exclusion of her name was the mere result of a new arrangement, and not intended as a mark of disrespect towards her, why did not the ministers inform the right reverend father in Christ, the Cardinal Gonsalvi, that he had made a blunder, and that he should have given *another* reason for the affront which was offered to her majesty. She did not come to Rome as the Countess of Oldi, her usual travelling name, but as the Queen of England; but the right reverend father in Christ, the Cardinal Gonsalvi, had beheld her before in the "Holy City" as Countess of Oldi, and, therefore, as he knew that her name had been struck out of the Liturgy of the church of England, he was determined that she should be considered as travelling *incognito*, under the title of the Countess of Oldi; and it is a proof, how a cardinal in the full spirit of the Jesuit, can turn and twist a matter to suit his own convenience, or to support the bias of his political connexions. It must, however, be conceded that it is entirely in the discretion of the crown whether the members of the royal family should be prayed for by name, or generally as the royal family; and, herein lies the whole merit of the case. The crown did not please to grant the favour of the queen being prayed for separately, but included her in the general name of the royal family; this, however, it must be allowed, is placing the most lenient construction upon it, but by the nation at large it was considered as an indignity offered to the queen, and it served to in

crease the tide of unpopularity which set in so strongly towards a certain quarter.

The first notice which parliament took of the situation of the queen, was on the 26th of February, when a most animated debate took place from which we insert the following extracts :—

Mr. Hume said, “ the British Parliament was now about to separate, and no one who had heard a noble lord a few days since expatiate on the advantages which this country had derived from the house of Brunswick, since its accession to the throne of these realms, could see without pain and surprise, that one near branch of that illustrious house, he meant our present queen, was left wholly unprovided for. He understood a proposition was to be submitted in the committee for a vote of credit to the amount of one-fourth of the civil list. This, however, he apprehended would not suffice to provide an adequate establishment for the queen, whose former allowance, as Princess of Wales, had ceased at the moment of his late majesty’s death. Was she then, the queen of this country, to be left wandering in beggary through foreign lands, or would not parliament rather make a provision for her support, in a manner suitable to her rank and station ? Suppose she were to land to-morrow in this country, what was to be her reception ? He was afraid there was not a military officer who would know in what manner he was to conduct himself, or understand in what situation he was placed. It appeared to him to be a most extra-

ordinary state of things, in which public functionaries should be at a loss what department to assume in respect of their legitimate queen. The house, indeed, had been told that no personal inconvenience could arise to that high person from the change in her situation, but he did not think the house ought to be satisfied with this indefinite sort of assurance.

Lord Castlereagh was sure that on the present occasion he should best consult the feelings of the house and of the public, by declining to go into any of the detail referred to in the course of the honourable member's observations. Whenever the attention of parliament should be regularly called to this subject, he should be prepared for the discussion. Till that time should arrive, he had only to re-assert, that the high person in question would experience no additional difficulty or personal embarrassment, in consequence of the event which had occurred. There was not the smallest ground for apprehending that she would be exposed either to harshness or inattention. The vote which his right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer was about to propose, was intended to meet the necessary charges on the civil list, for a limited period.

Mr. Tierney would not grant to a person labouring under a heavy cloud of suspicion, any portion of public money until that suspicion was removed. It might answer the noble lord's purpose to deal in hints, or make the pulpit a vehicle for his insi-

nuations, or infuse through any other channel particular notions into the public mind; but if there was any ground for crimination, no time ought to be lost in instituting an inquiry, and vindicating the monarchy of England from disgrace. He would not, for no better reason than the convenience of his majesty's ministers, vote the public money to a person not recognized as queen. It was desirable to know whether any communication had been made to her, informing her of the late king's death, and of the rank to which she was thereby exalted. If she was ignorant of these circumstances, in what a situation were they all placed by his majesty's ministers, and for purposes known only to themselves? The passing over the queen's name in the church service was directed by an order in council. Here then it must appear that ministers conceived they had some ground of suspicion, or they would not have adopted a proceeding which derogated from the respect otherwise due to the queen's rank and station. Under these circumstances, he could not suppress his conviction that somebody had been scandalously ill used—either the king had been betrayed, or the queen had been insulted. He might now be allowed to advert to another pretty general rumour, as to there having been an examination lately held, with the view of criminating the high person in question. Thus they found her name omitted in the Liturgy, her private conduct made

the theme of public conversation, and then they were told that nothing ought to be said of her in parliament, because it was intended to provide her with an adequate allowance, her claim on the consolidated fund having already ceased. For his own part, he should be content if his majesty's ministers would give a pledge that this subject should be investigated in the next parliament. All he wished was, that justice should be done; and upon that understanding he should not object in the mean time to a provision being made. He was conscious, in making these observations, that he was merely discharging his duty; he had no favour to expect from court, nor had he ever held the slightest intercourse with the queen. What he threw out proceeded solely from a sincere regard to, and desire of, preserving the dignity of the English monarchy.

Mr. Brougham differed entirely from his right honourable friend in the view which he had taken of this unfortunate subject; and, it was quite new to him to learn that any parliamentary recognition, and much less any mode of speaking in parliament, or that any ceremonial of the church was at all essential to make out the title of a queen, or to vindicate the rights appertaining to that character. According to his understanding of the constitution, she who was the wedded wife of a king regnant, was *eo ipso*, queen-consort; and that her claim to that title was as indisputable as

that of the king himself. It was not the less so because she was prayed for in no Liturgy, or because her name appeared in no order of council; or because no addresses either of condolence or congratulation were presented to her. He apprehended, that if the advisers of the crown should be enabled to advance what might be necessary for this purpose out of the civil list, there would be no need whatever to introduce the mention of her majesty's name. If, by limiting her expences, the crown should be pleased to pay 35,000*l.* a-year to her majesty, parliament, he thought, ought not to interfere; but he must at the same time state distinctly that he was wholly unacquainted with any grounds of suspicion. He refused his ears to all such rumours: as long as she was the king's consort, he knew and should treat her only in the character of queen-consort. He was wholly ignorant of any inquiries that had been instituted; he listened not to their reported results; nor would he suffer his mind to receive any sinister impressions. But if a charge should ever be brought forward, he would deal with it as became an honest member of parliament; and, he would endeavour to do justice between the parties most concerned; though, God knew, they were not the only parties that were concerned.

Lord Castlereagh was convinced that the manner in which the honourable and learned gentleman (*Mr. Brougham*) had mentioned a topic

of this very peculiar and delicate nature was most consonant to the general feeling and sense of the house.

On the following day, in a committee of supply, a resolution being read, granting the sum of 200,000*l.* to his Majesty for the payment of pensions, annuities, &c. chargeable on the consolidated fund and civil-list, *Mr. Tierney* insisted that no provision could be made for the queen under this particular vote. There was no such person as the Princess of Wales—who then was to receive this annuity? If they intended to grant to her majesty that which had previously been conferred on the Princess of Wales, words to that effect ought to be introduced.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that this payment might be made by the treasury under the authority of parliament, although the political situation of the individual might be changed.

Mr. Tierney ; The grant was not conferred on the individual, but was voted to maintain her rank as Princess of Wales. She has ceased to be Princess of Wales; there is no such person. How, then, I ask, can this resolution grant an annuity to an individual not originally in the contemplation of parliament? I know the right honourable gentleman must not use the word queen. I am quite aware of that. I should be very glad to hear the right honourable gentleman use the

word, and I should be still better pleased if I could get him to record it on the journals.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: That which was formerly granted to the Princess of Wales will now be payable to the queen, and to no other person.

Mr. Hume: What reason is there, I wish to know, for not stating specifically, that the annuity formerly granted to the princess of Wales shall, in future, be paid to her majesty the queen? By such a statement the objection of the right honourable gentleman will at once be obviated.

Mr. Lushington: It would be impossible to insert those words, without introducing the name of every other person connected with the grant. If therefore one name were introduced, all the rest must be inserted. The resolution was agreed to.

Her majesty, after a most fatiguing journey, reached Leghorn, where she was met by Mr. Sicard, her steward, now resident in this country, who announced to her the death of our late venerable sovereign; from thence she proceeded to Rome, then to Pesaro, and finally to Milan. From Milan she despatched a courier to this country, announcing her intention, if possible, to reach the French coast, in order to be within reach of her advisers, by the first of May.

In furtherance of this intention, after the courier

had set out, she commenced her wearisome route, travelling through Turin, over Mount Cenis, and by a circuititious, but pleasant, road to Geneva.

On her arrival at Geneva, owing to the fatigues which she had undergone, added to the anxiety of mind which she very naturally felt, she became so much indisposed, that she was incapable of advancing. Indeed, her medical advisers deprecated such an intention as highly dangerous. She was afflicted with violent rheumatic pains, and by severe spasmodic attacks. In this situation, she sent forward another courier, with letters announcing the precarious state of her health, adverting generally to the interesting state of her affairs, and requesting to be informed whether there was no possibility of her being joined at Geneva by Mr. Brougham. This courier, on his route through Paris, where he had also letters to deliver to Sir Charles Stuart, was stopped by that gentleman, who, it seems, had letters to forward to her majesty, and who sent him back to Geneva with those letters, he himself undertaking to forward her majesty's letters by his own courier to England.

The courier reached Geneva on his return late at night. Her majesty had retired to rest, but was immediately put in possession of the letters transmitted by Sir Charles Stuart, and was also apprized of the extraordinary step which he had taken. Her majesty immediately

rose, and gave directions that the Chevalier Vasali, one of her household, who is a gentleman of high character and distinguished merit, should be directed to prepare for proceeding forthwith with other letters, to London, which her majesty then sat down to write. In these letters her majesty complained of the interruptions which her courier had received—and added, that under such circumstances she had felt it necessary to send one of her own establishment to England. Her majesty also said, that if it were inconvenient for Mr. Brougham to join her at Geneva, she would, on the return of her messenger announcing that fact, immediately proceed to one of the ports of France, calculated to afford the most ready communication with England. She would be the more capable of this, as the rest which she had obtained in Geneva, added to the kind and liberal manner in which she had been treated by the inhabitants of that ancient and respectable town, and especially by some of our own countrymen, had tended greatly to improve her health, and to enable her to undergo further fatigues.

The Chevalier Vasali, in pursuance of the commands of her majesty, set off from Geneva early on the morning of Saturday, and by an extraordinary effort reached London on the Tuesday night following. The chevalier lost no time in executing the commission entrusted to him; and a consultation was held between Mr.

Brougham, Mr. Denman, and other distinguished individuals, on the ensuing day, as to the mode of proceeding which it would be proper to adopt.

Mr. Brougham felt that, consistently with his public engagements, it would be impossible for him to join her at so great a distance as Geneva ; added to which, where it might become requisite to have repeated interviews and consultations, it was considered that her majesty being so far from the scene of discussion might be productive of great and serious inconveniences. Under these circumstances, it was determined with as little delay as possible, to send the Chevalier Vasali back to Geneva, with an humble request for her majesty to lose as little time as possible in pursuing her route to Calais, or to some other town contiguous to the coast, so as to be in close communication with the English shore.

It may be proper here to state, that it was the decided and unanimous opinion of the real friends of her majesty, that she should return directly to this country, and with that courage which under every trial, however severe, belongs to the character of innocence, boldly meet her secret accusers. That charges have been made against her majesty of the most serious and alarming nature, no doubt can be entertained. That such charges do exist, in point of fact, it is quite certain. Whether, however, the evidence by which they are to be supported, is such as is likely to gain a moment's

credit with discerning persons in this country, its production alone can determine. The Chevalier Vasali stopped in London two days to refresh himself from the effects of his journey, and again set out for the continent. On reaching Calais, he made a short stay at Dessin's hotel, and then proceeded by post. He calculated that he should reach Geneva in about five days, which he accomplished, and on the ensuing day her majesty commenced her route towards England.

A letter from a gentleman at Geneva to a correspondent in town, affords some interesting matter as to the state of her majesty's health, and as to the manner in which she had been received in that town. After describing the unexpected arrival of her majesty, and the curiosity which her presence had excited, he says—

“Some of us Englishmen felt it our duty to pay our respects to the royal exile, and sent an humble request that we might be allowed that honour. Her majesty was at first so much indisposed as to be incapable of seeing us, but we were ultimately favoured with an audience. Her majesty received us with great condescension and affability, and made particular enquiries as to when we heard from England, of which she expressed herself a devoted admirer. She spoke with a sort of enthusiasm of the people and of the country, and said that her heart yearned with affection towards towards the one and the other. She said, she never should forget the kind, and liberal, and en-

thusiastic sentiments of respect which had been paid to her while resident in London—at a period when all hope, save that founded upon the consciousness of her own innocence, had fled; a young gentleman, a son of Mr. Alderman Wood, was present, he had before spent some hours with her majesty, and in alluding to the honourable exertions of his father, in favour of an almost friendless woman, she seemed affected even to tears.—Her country—for she said she had none other but England, now that the grave had swallowed her father, her mother, and her brother—was the unceasing topic of her allusions ; and she seemed to look with confidence to a triumphant return to what she emphatically called ‘the bosom of her people.’

“ Her person, since she left England in 1814, seems to be a good deal changed. She is not so fair as she then was, nor is she so stout—there is an air of melancholy langour about her manners which renders her very interesting. It is thought she will remain here for some time. She lives almost entirely secluded.”

Such are the terms in which the writer describes the state of her majesty, and they, in a great measure, confirm the statement which had been previously circulated.

On May 10th, Mr. Alderman Wood, who, as the above extracts describe, is known to have been long attached to the interests of her majesty,

reached Dover. He was soon recognized, and it was speedily rumoured that the queen was immediately expected, and that the worthy alderman had come down to meet her. A good deal of bustle prevailed; but the departure of Alderman Wood to the French coast on the ensuing morning disappointed the hopes which the people seemed to entertain. The honourable gentleman did not reach Calais till between six and seven o'clock in the evening. He immediately proceeded to Dessin's hotel, where we have already stated Lady Hamilton to have taken up her residence. It was rumoured that the worthy alderman had come over to meet the queen, and this rumour was confirmed by his setting out on the following morning towards Paris, at the same time with Lady Hamilton, who, it may be proper to state, received the appointment of one of her majesty's ladies in waiting, when her majesty announced her intention to return to England. The well-known benevolence and liberal character of Lady Hamilton sufficiently account for the readiness with which she quitted her native shores, in the performance of a duty which others, with feelings less charitable, and with minds more prone to receive unfavourable impressions, might have declined.

It was fixed that her majesty, if she visited Calais, should take up her residence at Dessin's hotel, which has repeatedly afforded accommodation to

royalty ; but it was possible that she herself might determine to stop at St. Omer's or Abbeville.

The arrival of Alderman Wood in the town of Calais produced among the English inhabitants (about one thousand in number) a considerable ferment. It was at once concluded that the long existing doubts as to the arrival of her majesty were about to be solved, and the subsequent departure of the worthy alderman, in company with Lady Hamilton, on the road towards Paris, confirmed the belief that her majesty would ultimately come among them. This belief led to a consideration as to the way in which she was to be received. Many were for evincing those sentiments of attachment in the strongest manner ; but in order that the matter might be arranged in a proper way, the following circular was issued :—

“ HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

“ Information having been received of the probable intention of her gracious majesty Caroline Queen of England to pass through this town, on her way to Dover, it is requested that the English inhabitants resident here may attend a public meeting to be holden at the Silver Lion, Rue Nœuf, on Thursday evening, at seven o'clock, for the purpose of taking into consideration the course which it may be most expedient to adopt, with a view to pay to her majesty that respect which is due from every British subject to one holding

so illustrious a rank, and in the maintenance of whose honour and dignity every Englishman must feel an imperative duty."

"Calais, 22d May, 1820."

Independent of the private circulation of the above notice, it was likewise exhibited at the English reading-room, and several gentlemen expressed their intention of attending the meeting. In the course of the day, however, a person holding an official situation under the British government, and who had previously rendered himself somewhat unpopular, discovered the announcement, and, it is supposed, immediately proceeded to lay an information before the mayor, as in ten minutes after he had been seen reading it, the proprietor of the reading-room was cited before that gentleman. The mayor, who conducted himself with great politeness, asked several questions as to the persons by whom the notice had been prepared, and by whose orders it had been stuck up. The answer was, that one of the subscribers to the reading-room had left it, and that in placing it on his window, he (the proprietor) was unconscious of having been guilty of any offence. In return, he was informed, that it was contrary to the laws of France to summon a public meeting without the permission of the municipal officers; and further, that the exhibition of the notice in question without a stamp was improper. The mayor finally declared his

intention to send the paper, with a copy of which he was provided, to the Prefect at Arras, which he accordingly did, and there the matter rested.

This proceeding soon obtained publicity, and excited something like alarm in the breasts of those who had intended to have met: but their views were still further frustrated by the landlord of the Silver Lion refusing to let them have a room in his house—a circumstance which was attributed to the influence of the same official gentleman to whom we have already alluded. Under these circumstances, no meeting took place, and much interest was excited as to the course that should be pursued, upon the part of the British residents and the French authorities, in the event of her majesty's arrival.

The persons who felt anxious for the English inhabitants to assemble for the purpose of considering what, if any, public token of respect should be paid to her majesty on her arrival, were influenced only by a desire to do homage to the illustrious rank which she holds, without any reference whatever to those questions respecting her private conduct, which have led to so much discussion.

We have been favoured with a copy of an address to her majesty, which, we understand, it was intended to have proposed. Whether it would have been adopted or not, is, of course, a matter of doubt. It was as follows:—

“ To her most gracious majesty Caroline, Queen of Great Britain.

“ The humble Address of the English Inhabitants of the Town of Calais.

“ May it please your Majesty,—We, the inhabitants of the town of Calais, who are Englishmen, and who although absent from our native shores, still feeling that we owe every sentiment of loyalty and attachment to that family by which the sceptre of the United Kingdom has been so long and so gloriously wielded, beg leave most humbly to approach your majesty, and with great humility to offer to your majesty our congratulations on your near approach to that land over which we may confidently expect you will hold so high a sway, and in which we trust you will at all times experience that respect and loyalty, to which, by your illustrious rank, you are so eminently entitled. We could not reconcile it to our feelings as Englishmen, to suffer your majesty to pass through this town without offering to you this testimony of our anxious solicitude for your majesty’s welfare and happiness.”

The temperate manner in which this was drawn up, at least proves that there was a strong desire to abstain from every topic calculated to excite opposition, even among the most fastidious.

The following letter from Geneva, presents us with some interesting particulars respecting her majesty, on her journey towards the English coast.

Geneva, May 17, 1820.

“The Queen arrived here on Tuesday last, coming by the Mont-Cenis to Chambery, and thence by Aix and Rumilly to this place. Her majesty is lodged at the Hotel l'Ecu de Geneve, where she intends to remain till the return of a courier sent to Mr. Brougham on her arrival here. Her majesty is leading a most retired and regular life; she rises early, and is in bed generally before eleven; her dinner hour is at two, after which she takes an airing on the lake, and returns at five to tea. Her majesty was confined at Milan several days by indisposition, but is now in the best health and spirits; she has been induced to travel with less expedition than usual, following the advice of her physicians. On Friday, as the Queen entered her carriage to take her accustomed ride, she was informed of the death of the Duchess of York; it so affected her, that she was obliged to return to her chamber in evident distress. From the authorities of the King of Sardinia her majesty received the greatest attention. Though she expressed a desire to keep the strictest incognito, they insisted upon providing her majesty with an escort of carebonniers throughout the Sardinian dominions. The Queen has dismissed her Italian court, and with the exception of her maid and footmen, has merely with her M. de Bergami, her chamberlain, an equerry, and her private secretary, who is an English gentleman. Mr. William Austin, whom

her majesty took under her protection while a child, is now a very fine young man, and accompanies her majesty to England, where she intends to place him at college. A great deal of jealousy has been excited in Italy, and stories have found their way to England relative to the exaltation of M. de Bergami by her majesty from the situation of courier to chamberlain—from apparently nothing to that of a baron covered with orders. But it is said that these decorations he gained by his bravery with the French army in the campaign in Russia and elsewhere; and besides the high recommendation the Queen received with him, she says that she found his family was of respectability, and she has lost no occasion to reward him for six years of tried services. He leaves her Majesty next week to join his sisters at Bologna. On receipt of despatches from England the Queen will set out immediately for Ostend, taking the route by Lausanne to Carlsruhe, and so on to Brussels.”

From the following letter it appears that the English inhabitants at Boulogne were equally desirous with those of Calais, of testifying their loyalty to her majesty, on the event of her passing through that town. No doubt, however, exists, that had she passed through Boulogne, the French authorities would have used every exertion in their power to prevent any honours being paid her.

Boulogne-sur-Mer, May 26, 1820.

“Mr. Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton passed through this town on their way, as is generally supposed, to meet her majesty, on Wednesday. A report prevails that her majesty's route will be through Boulogne to Calais—this had led to a consultation among some of the English inhabitants (of whom there are not less than three thousand), whether it may not be proper to offer to her majesty some mark of respect as she passes. Those persons directly or indirectly connected with the British government, for reasons which may be perfectly understood, are averse to such a proposition.”

Whatever might be the ultimate decision of her majesty as to her visit to this country, it was now ascertained that she was approaching the French coast, and on her arrival at Dijon, she despatched a courier charged with a letter to Mr. Brougham, in which her majesty informed that gentleman that it was her intention to be at St. Omer's on the following Wednesday, and requested his presence at that place to confer upon the step which she was about to take in immediately proceeding to England. At the time of the departure of this courier, her majesty had not been joined by Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton, although she had received letters from them announcing their intention to meet her on the road.

After the departure of the courier, her majesty again continued her journey to Monthard, which

she reached on Saturday morning. Here her majesty retired to rest, and when at dinner, was agreeably surprised by the arrival of Mr. Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton, who by keeping the route pointed out by Count Vasali were thus enabled to fall in with her majesty without difficulty. They had missed the courier on the road, who, it was supposed, must have taken another direction. Her majesty received the worthy Alderman and Lady Hamilton with great condescension and kindness, and expressed much pleasure at receiving such an accession to her suite. The same evening they all pursued their course to Villeneuve which they reached the next day. Here, upon consultation with Mr. Alderman Wood, her majesty repeated her determination to proceed forthwith to England, there to assert her rights as queen, and openly to meet the malevolence of her secret enemies. She seemed to be perfectly acquainted with many of the scandalous stories which had been circulated to her prejudice. She treated them with contempt, and, relying upon the consciousness of her own innocence, she said she would fearlessly throw herself upon the justice and candour of her people. Indeed, she added, that she would long since have been in England, had not her advisers recommended her to wait until his majesty's government should afford her the means of going thither in a manner becoming her illustrious rank. Her majesty, having now resolved no longer to delay her intentions, immedi-

ately sat down and wrote three letters; one to the Earl of Liverpool, another to Lord Melville, and a third to his royal highness the Duke of York.

The letter written by her majesty to the Earl of Liverpool, demanding a suitable residence, was as follows :

“ Villeneuve le Roi, May 29, 1820. ”

“ Having been prevented by indisposition from arriving sooner in England, I take now the earliest opportunity of communicating to the Earl of Liverpool my intention of arriving in London next Saturday, 3d of June ; and I desire that the Earl of Liverpool will give proper orders that one of the royal yachts should be in readiness at Calais to convey me to Dover : and likewise, that he would be pleased to signify to me his majesty’s intentions as to what residence is to be allotted to me, either for a temporary or a permanent habitation. I trust that his majesty the king is perfectly recovered from his late severe indisposition.

“ CAROLINE, Queen of England.”

“ To the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.”

The letter to Lord Melville, the First Lord of the Admiralty, was written by Lady Ann Hamilton : it was as follows :

“ Villeneuve le Roi, 29th May, 1820. ”

“ Lady Ann Hamilton is commanded by her majesty the Queen of England, to signify to Lord

Melville, that it is her majesty's intention to return to England immediately; therefore she desires that Lord Melville will be so good as to give orders that one of the royal yachts should be in attendance at Calais next Saturday, 3d of June, to convey her majesty and suite to England."

The letter to the Duke of York was a mere recapitulation of both demands, as well as a protest against the manner in which she had been treated.

Her majesty remained at Villeneuve that night, and the next morning pursued her route to Melun; from thence, avoiding Paris, she went directly on to Abbeville. She reached Abbeville early in the morning, and threw herself on a bed to gain a little repose.

During her majesty's retirement, several English families, resident at Abbeville, requested to be permitted to pay her their personal respects. They were, however, informed of the fatigues which her majesty had undergone, and of her inability to receive the kindnesses which were intended.

A courier was sent off to St. Omer's, with instructions to have beds prepared for her majesty and her suite; and two hours after, her majesty recommenced her wearisome journey.

As she was about to quit the inn, the English inhabitants already alluded to were in attendance, and as she passed through the hall of the inn they bowed most respectfully. Her majesty was

much moved by this testimony of their affection, and uttering a few words of thanks, and gracefully returning the salute, she hurried into her carriage.

The cavalcade now commenced the last and most difficult stage of their route. From Abbeville to St. Omer's they were scarcely able to obtain a single change of horses; and those that were procured were brought from the fields, and ridden by the ploughmen. In one instance, where the courier had called at the post-house, and announced the approach of her majesty, the post-master, who had but three horses in his stable, was so alarmed, that he ran off and concealed himself, and was not to be found when his services were required. It was to these delays that the late arrival of her majesty was attributable.

M. Degacher, and his wife (an English woman), the keeper of the hotel, who had made every arrangement for the accommodation of their royal guest, had almost come to the conclusion that she had stopped at some other house on the road, when the well known cracking of the postillions' whips, as they drove down the street, gave notice of the approach of some of the party.

In a few seconds afterwards, Mr. Alderman Wood, who, with the Count Vasali, had come forward in order to see that every thing was in readiness, entered the inn-yard, and ordered fires and refreshments. The worthy alderman ap-

peared to be a good deal fatigued, but still showed a praiseworthy activity in securing the comfort of his royal mistress.

An English gentleman (Mr. Moreland), who, with his family, were on their way to Paris, now rose from his bed, and tendered the use of his rooms, which were in a retired part of the building, for the use of her majesty; but this was not necessary. He also expressed a hope that he might be allowed to pay his personal respects to her majesty in the course of the day.

After a short interval, the renewed cracking of whips called all who were in attendance to the gate, where her majesty and suite were seen advancing: and here a serious accident had nearly occurred, in consequence of the want of experience in the drivers. In descending the hill one of the leaders of her majesty's carriage fell, and for a few seconds there was reason to apprehend that the carriage would have been overturned. The prompt assistance of the persons present, however, prevented this misfortune, and her majesty was driven safely to the inn.

A carpet was spread on the steps, and she immediately alighted; and leaning on the arms of Alderman Wood and Count Vasali entered the house. She appeared to be somewhat exhausted from the fatigue she had undergone, but soon recovering herself, she resumed her wonted spirits. She ascended to her bed-chamber,

accompanied by Lady Hamilton and some of her female attendants, of whom there were three, two French women and one Piedmontese.

Her majesty was dressed in a rich twilled sar-cenet pelisse, of a puce colour, lined with ermine, and wore on her head a white willow hat, similar in shape to the fashionable Leghorn hats. Notwithstanding the unfavourable effects which must have accrued from the journey which she had just accomplished, she looked extremely interesting. It was not a little singular that the bed-chamber into which her Majesty was first shown was that in which the late Duke of Kent, when coming with the Duchess of Kent to England, had slept. Her majesty, preferring a room where she could have her female attendants close to her (her uniform habit), chose a room of a less magnificent description, in an upper part of the house.

It may be interesting to our readers to state the persons who composed her majesty's suite. There were five carriages in all. The first was that in which Mr. Alderman Wood and Count Vasali rode. It was a sort of calash, drawn by three horses. The second was an English post-chariot, yellow body, with "C. P. W." and the royal arms in the panels, drawn by four horses. In this were her majesty, Lady Hamilton, and a fine female child, about three years old, whom her Majesty, in conformity with her benevolent practices on former occasions, has adopted

Then came a large English travelling carriage, similar in colour, and the panels emblazoned in the same way with the chariot. In this were her majesty's three female domestics. There were two other calashes, in which were Mr. Austin, the young man adopted by her majesty at Blackheath, whose name has been so repeatedly mentioned; Mr. Wood, junior, and several male branches of her majesty's household; among these we believe we may include the Count Bergami, her Majesty's chamberlain, respecting whom there have been such repeated speculations. This gentleman it appears has engaged her majesty's confidence, in consequence of the fidelity with which he has attended to her pecuniary concerns, but it was determined that he should not accompany her majesty to England. He is a tall robust military-looking man, of middle-age, and was respectfully attentive to her majesty's person; his manners are those of a man who has moved in the highest circles.

After her majesty had partaken of some refreshments, she retired to bed; anxiously expecting the return of her couriers. One of these persons was commissioned to bring her majesty some articles of dress from London.

Her majesty expressed a full determination to proceed to Dover by a common packet-boat, if the yacht which she had demanded should not be sent; and if a royal palace should be refused,



COUNT BERGAMI.

From the Original Picture Published in Paris.

London. Published by Thomas Kelly, 17. Paternoster Row, Aug.^r 26, 1820.

it was expected that she would avail herself of the offer, which had been made to her, of the beautiful house of Mr. Angerstein, on Blackheath.

Soon after her majesty had reached l'Hotel de l'Ancienne Poste, the captain of the guard on duty at the gates of St. Omer's arrived at the inn and expressed an intention of granting to her majesty a guard of honour, to be placed at the entrance of the hotel, as long as she should remain in the town.

The offer having been communicated to her majesty, she said, that however flattered she might be by the attention of the officer in question, yet she felt herself bound to decline the intended distinction. In her progress through France she had been treated with studied neglect; and she knew too well what was due to the high rank which she held, to accept from an isolated town that which had been withheld from her elsewhere, and which she could not but consider as an offence, not towards herself personally, but towards that nation of which she was the queen.

The officer left the hotel, apparently mortified; but whether his offer proceeded from the suggestions of his own gallantry, or from orders which he had received from his superiors, cannot now be ascertained.

The arrival of Mr. Brougham, and the courier with answers from Lord Liverpool and Lord Melville, was anxiously looked for, as her majesty

then intended to advance to Calais without delay; from thence embark, and once more visit the shores of "Old England."

The following may be considered in the light of a diary of the proceedings of her majesty, from her arrival at St. Omer's, to her departure from the French territory.

Friday, June 2.

"Her majesty was yesterday so much fatigued that she was unable to quit her bed-chamber to attend the dinner party. She is this morning, we are happy to state, improved in health and spirits.

"The courier, who carried the letter from her majesty to Mr. Brougham, arrived last night. Mr. Brougham stated that he would leave London on Thursday morning, and that in all probability he would be at St. Omer's this day. Her majesty anxiously expects his arrival.

"Her majesty expresses most fervently her desire to reach England. She always appears cheerful, except when speaking of the Princess Charlotte, to whose memory her heart seems fondly attached.

"Her majesty makes constant enquiries after every person with whom she was acquainted in England, and seems fully sensible of the attentions which many of the English families she has met felt it their duty to pay to her.

"Among her majesty's domestics, is a cook, who prepares every thing for her majesty's table.

“Several naval and military officers, who were resident here, have quitted the town in order to avoid paying their respects to her majesty.

“Alderman Wood will accompany her majesty to England. He is in excellent health, and has repeated interviews with her majesty.

“It would seem that her majesty cannot, however desirous, sail for England this week.”

“Calais, Friday night.”

“The courier sent by her majesty to Mr. Brougham, who passed through this town on Monday evening, returned last night, and immediately proceeded with despatches to her majesty at St. Omer’s.

“A telegraphic annunciation has been made to the military authorities here, intimating that no official attention is to be paid to her majesty the Queen of England: and, as if influenced by the notification, the commandant, following the example of the mayor, whose conduct was noticed in a former letter, sent for an English gentleman known to possess a considerable acquaintance with his fellow-countrymen, to whom he stated, that if any public demonstrations of respect were offered to her majesty, in the slightest degree calculated to produce confusion in the town, he should be under the necessity of interfering to prevent it, by means even extending to imprisonment. This threat, we apprehend, could only arise from an apprehension that it was intended

to take her majesty's horses from the carriage, and draw her into the town; but it has received a more extensive construction, and has produced much indignation among the English, who cannot endure such restrictions upon the honest effusions of their hearts.

“The commandant says, that her majesty is travelling as the Countess of Oldi, and in that character he will visit her himself. This is not the case. All her majesty's couriers have their passports drawn up as messengers from ‘La Reine d'Angleterre,’ and her majesty has invariably adopted that style and title herself. There is no pretence, therefore, for withholding from her the respect due to her rank.

“The courier sent by her majesty to Lords Liverpool and Melville, returned here by the Lord Sidmouth packet, yesterday evening. He brought a box, containing a dress for her majesty, together with despatches. In a few minutes after the arrival of the Lord Sidmouth, the Prince Leopold packet reached the quay, with Mr. Brougham, her majesty's attorney-general, and his brother, and Mr. Sicard, her majesty's steward, on board. Lord Hutchinson was also on board the Prince Leopold. The quay was crowded to see the learned counsel disembark. The British Consul went on board to Mr. Brougham, and, after a short conversation returned on shore.

“Mr. Brougham and his brother, Lord Hutchinson, and Mr. Sicard, proceeded to the Bourbon

hotel. Mr. Brougham was so much indisposed as to be unable to proceed to St. Omer's. He, his brother, Lord Hutchinson, and the British Consul dined together. The three former set off for St. Omer's in the morning.

"The Countess of Byland has also reached this port. She is at the Kingston-hotel.

"I have just engaged the Defence packet to sail with this, and I calculate it will reach you to-morrow at eleven.

"There is no doubt her majesty will sail for England. Her mind is firm, and her determination fixed."

It was during her majesty's stay at St. Omer's, that Lady Hamilton received an answer from Lord Melville, relative to the queen's demand for a yacht to convey her to England; which was couched in the following terms:

"Admiralty, 1st June, 9 A.M.

"Lord Melville had the honour to receive yesterday Lady Hamilton's note of the 29th ult., conveying the information that the queen intends being at Calais to-morrow. His majesty, however, being absent from London, Lord Melville cannot receive his commands as to the Board of Admiralty giving orders for one of the royal yachts to proceed at present to Calais."

Lord Liverpool sent no answer, and on her

majesty reading that of Lord Melville, she appeared to be considerably displeased; perhaps, the former lord adopted the wiser plan of the two; he knew the requests of her majesty could not be complied with, and not having the *same reason* to give as Lord Melville, he thought it better to give none at all. He therefore shrewdly forbore to commit himself, and as far as an official communication could go, her majesty was left in ignorance whether on her arrival in England, a suitable residence would or would not be appointed her.

The following is an extract of a letter from Calais, dated the 14th of May:

“ Calais, Sunday morning.

“ No intelligence has as yet been received in this town as to the intended movements of her majesty. The result of her majesty's conference with Mr. Brougham, will, no doubt, soon be known.

“ The Prince Leopold packet, by which Mr. Brougham came from Dover, and which is the largest in the service, still remains in the harbour, and rumours are afloat that she is destined to bear her majesty to England.

“ Orders have been issued by the commandant, that in the event of her majesty's arrival in Calais, no additional flags shall be hoisted by the vessels in the harbour.

“ Additional guards have been mounted at the

Basville gate, in the event of any jocund disposition being evinced by the English inhabitants, on the approach of her majesty.

“ Letters were received at the post office here yesterday for her majesty, which were sent on by a courier to St. Omer’s. The wind still blows a hurricane.”

In the course of the afternoon of the 3d, Mr. Brougham and his brother, and Lord Hutchinson, reached St. Omer’s in a post-carriage and four. Mr. Sicard, her majesty’s steward, was on the box.

When Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson arrived at St. Omer’s, on Saturday evening, Mr Brougham was first introduced to her majesty, who was taking coffee: after a few complimentary observations on both sides, Mr. Brougham announced to the queen, that Lord Hutchinson, who had formerly been a warm friend of her majesty, and who was now a confidential friend of the king, had come in the spirit of sincere friendship to both, to make some proposals in his majesty’s name.

Her majesty desired, that whatever proposals were to be made should be committed to writing. In consequence of this declaration of her majesty’s pleasure, Mr. Brougham wrote to Lord Hutchinson the following note, and sent it to his hotel:

“ Mr. Brougham having humbly submitted to the queen, that he had reason to believe that

Lord Hutchinson had brought over a proposition from the king to her majesty, the queen has been pleased to command Mr. Brougham to request Lord Hutchinson to communicate any such proposition as soon as possible in writing. The bearer of this (Count Vassali) will wait to receive it from your lordship.—*June 4, 1820.*”

To this letter Lord Hutchinson sent a written answer, which it is not material to publish, as it merely stated that his lordship had no written proposals, but merely some scattered memoranda on scraps of paper. Mr. Brougham instantly sent the following reply to Lord Hutchinson’s letter:

“ Mr. Brougham is commanded by the queen to express to Lord Hutchinson her majesty’s surprise at his lordship not being ready to state the terms of the proposition of which he is the bearer; but as Lord Hutchinson is desirous of a few hours’ delay, her majesty will wait until five o’clock, in the expectation of receiving a communication from his lordship at that hour.—2 o’clock, *June 4, 1820.*”

It was not till within a few minutes of the stipulated time that Lord Hutchinson communicated his proposals in the following letter:

“ Sir,—In obedience to the commands of the queen I have to inform you, that I am not in possession of any proposition or propositions detailed in a specific form of words which I could lay

before her majesty ; but I can detail to you, for her information, the substance of many conversations held with Lord Liverpool. His majesty's ministers propose that 50,000*l.* per annum should be settled on the queen for life, subject to such conditions as the king may impose. I have also reason to know that the conditions likely to be imposed by his majesty are, that the queen is not to assume the style and title of Queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England. A condition is also to be attached to this grant, that she is not to reside in any part of the United Kingdom, or even to visit England. The consequence of such a visit will be an immediate message to Parliament, and an entire end to all compromise and negociation. I believe that there is no other condition—I am sure none of any importance. I think it right to send to you an extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to me : his words are—‘ It is material that her majesty should know confidentially, that if she shall be so ill advised as to come over to this country, there must be an end to all negociation and compromise. The decision, I may say, is taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets her foot on the British shore.’ I cannot conclude this letter without my humble, though serious and sincere supplication, that her majesty will take these propositions into her most calm consideration and not act with any hurry or precipitation on so important a subject. I hope that

my advice will not be misinterpreted. I can have no possible interest which would induce me to give fallacious counsel to the queen. But let the event be what it may, I shall console myself with the reflection that I have performed a painful duty imposed upon me to the best of my judgment and conscience, and in a case in the decision of which the king, the queen, the government, and the people of England are materially interested. Having done so, I fear neither obloquy, nor misrepresentation. I certainly should not have wished to have brought matters to so precipitate a conclusion, but it is her majesty's decision and not mine. I am conscious that I have performed my duty towards her with every possible degree of feeling and delicacy. I have been obliged to make use of your brother's hand, as I write with pain and difficulty, and the queen has refused to give any, even the shortest delay.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“With great regard,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“HUTCHINSON.”

The moment this offensive epistle was read, her majesty expressed the warmest indignation; and although we believe some attempts were made to calm her irritation, and to induce her to suspend her resolves, she commanded Mr. Brougham to write the following reply to Lord Hutchinson:

“ Mr Brougham is commanded by the queen to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Hutchinson’s letter, and to inform his lordship, that it is quite impossible for her majesty to listen to such a proposition.—Five o’clock, *June 4, 1820.*”

Her majesty then quitted the room, leaving Mr. Brougham alone.

It may be here necessary to state, that on Mr. Brougham’s arrival, her majesty’s chamberlains, the Count Bergami and the Count Vasali, requested their own dismissal. They acknowledged the honour which they had had in being her servants for six years ; but having at last placed her in the protection of her friends, and she being about to take refuge in the arms of her people, they presumed that, from among those people, she would be enabled to find persons not more worthy of her confidence than they had been, but, perhaps, less likely to excite prejudice. These gentlemen took their leave, and prepared to return to their own country. Her majesty made them suitable acknowledgments on their departure.

Almost immediately on her majesty quitting Mr. Brougham, she requested Mr. Alderman Wood to send off a courier to Calais, to engage a packet for her use. A courier was instantly despatched, and the Prince Leopold, being still in the harbour, was secured, as well as the Lady Jane for her majesty’s carriages.

Her majesty’s carriages were then ordered to

he got ready, and at half past five her majesty got into her carriage, with Lady Hamilton, a female attendant, and Alderman Wood. She drove off with the utmost speed, and was followed by two calashes, in which were the younger Mr. Wood, Mr. Austin, a female, and two male domestics; a black servant, and one of her couriers was on the box of her own carriage. It may be proper to mention, that her majesty was, on walking down the steps of the hotel at St. Omer's, warmly greeted by a great number of ladies of the first respectability, both French and English: A Greek lady, the wife of Mr. Copeland, an English banker, about to settle at Paris, was introduced to her majesty, who paid her compliments on her interesting appearance: the lady answered in Italian, and wished her majesty a pleasant voyage, and a speedy victory over her enemies. The queen gave her an animated smile, and in Italian returned her warm thanks for her good wishes.

The suddenness of her departure was such, that Mr. Brougham had no time to follow her majesty to her coach, and indeed scarcely knew she was gone, till he saw from a window the carriage hastening away. The reason of this precipitate departure, which prevented Mr. Brougham from paying the respect which he would otherwise have most anxiously paid, has been since very satisfactorily and naturally explained.

Lord Hutchinson, a very short time before her majesty's leaving St. Omer's, happened to say that he expected almost immediately a courier from Paris. Her majesty, conceiving that the only object of a courier from the capital of a country which had treated her with such marked neglect, must be a hostile one, and probably might end in intercepting her journey, took the prompt resolution of setting off that very instant, lest the delay of a few minutes might allow time for the arrival of a messenger with powers to refuse her the means of travelling. Her majesty was even afraid that some difficulties might be thrown in her way at Calais, and therefore, to make all sure, determined to go at once on board the English packet-boat. Such an apprehension fully justified her majesty's abrupt departure from the hotel at St. Omer's, and as fully explains the non-attendance of Mr. Brougham at her carriage-door, for her majesty, in her anxiety, did not mention to any one the reason of her haste, till she arrived almost at Calais. It turned out, however, that her majesty had misunderstood Lord Hutchinson's meaning: the courier expected from Paris, was merely to bring an answer from Lord Hutchinson's nephew, who resides in that metropolis, and to whom his lordship had written, requiring him to come and assist him, as his confidential amanuensis, in the same manner as Mr. Brougham's brother assisted Mr. Brougham. Her majesty arrived at Calais at half-past nine, and drove directly to the quay.

On her majesty's sudden appearance at Calais, the greatest ferment prevailed. She was immediately recognized, from the colour of her liveries and the number of her carriages. She was followed to the quay by a considerable crowd, and was loudly cheered. The tide was out, but she fearlessly descended into the packet by a ladder of many steps. Once on board she seemed more at ease. She sat upon a seat on the deck, and remained there in conversation with Lady Hamilton. But few persons were permitted to remain on the quay, and these had only a distant view of her majesty. It was altogether a most extraordinary scene: the queen of this great empire divested of the pomp due to her illustrious rank, seated on the deck of a common packet-boat, and, for the moment, deserted, as it were, by all those whose duty it was to protect her, and yet flying not from, but, with the pride of conscious innocence, fearlessly to meet, her enemies. The very humility of her situation, however, but displayed in more glowing colours the nobleness of her mind. She appeared to soar above all trifling considerations, and as she turned her eyes towards the British shores, she exclaimed to Lady Hamilton, in a plaintive voice, "It is there and there alone I hope for justice. It is among my people I must look for the respect due to my rank; it is from them, and them alone, I can expect the acknowledgement of my rights, and the defence of my character, against the foulest calumniators!"

Alderman Wood had retired to the Bourbon hotel, to prepare some despatches for England, announcing her majesty's situation. He had, as no answer had been received from Lord Liverpool, felt it his duty to offer to her majesty the use of his own house, in South Audley-street, and wrote to Mrs. Wood, apprizing her of her majesty's gracious acceptance of his offer. He also wrote letters to Mr. Denman and other individuals, intimating the course which her majesty had resolved to take. Refreshments were sent to her majesty from Dessin's hotel, of which she partook in the cabin of the packet.

The moment her majesty went on board, the Prince Leopold hoisted the royal standard.

The British Consul sent off a gentleman to London to his majesty's ministers, announcing her majesty's arrival at Calais, and intended departure for Dover.

Mr. Alderman Wood, having finished his despatches, repaired on board to receive her majesty's final orders. There was now some little difficulty in obtaining a confidential person to convey the despatches to London.

This was, however, soon overcome—a gentleman on deck volunteered his services—an open boat was rowed alongside the packet, and, at half past ten, he glided out of the harbour, without taking the customary leave of the Commissary of Police. In a few minutes his little bark was exposed to the shock of adverse winds and currents; but, after considerable hazard, he reached the

Dover shore at half-past-ten the ensuing morning, and, stepping into a post-chaise and four, was driven into London in less than six hours. The gentleman who had preceded him, with the despatches of the Consul, had stated, that her majesty did not intend coming to England for some time. This *ruse de guerre* was frustrated by a statement of the real truth, and thus an opportunity was afforded for evincing the enthusiasm we shall subsequently describe. A report prevailed at Calais that her majesty's messenger had been lost; but, happily, without foundation.

After the departure of the messenger, her majesty retired to rest in one of the births of the cabin. Alderman Wood slept, or rather watched, on the deck, wrapped in a large coat.

Lord Hutchinson so little expected her majesty's departure, that he was in the act of writing the following letter to Mr. Brougham when the queen went away. This letter was sent after her majesty to Calais, in an enclosure from Mr. Brougham. The queen was asleep when the parcel arrived, about one o'clock, and it was therefore received by Alderman Wood. The worthy alderman did not think it right to wake her majesty; but, about two hours afterwards, hearing her speak to her female attendant, he sent the letter to her: her majesty read it, and desired Mr. Alderman Wood to acknowledge it; but to add, that the queen saw no reason to alter her course.

St. Omer's, five o'clock, June 4, 1820.

“ My dear Sir,—I should wish that you would enter into a more detailed explanation; but, to show you my anxious and sincere wish for an accommodation, I am willing to send a courier to England to ask for further instruction, provided her majesty will communicate to you whether any part of the proposition which I have made would be acceptable to her; and, if there is any thing which she may wish to offer to the English government, on her part, I am willing to make myself the medium through which it may pass.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ HUTCHINSON.”

This letter exhibits at once the promptitude and firmness of her majesty's character. We have no doubt that, had she suffered the wicked and disgraceful negociation to be opened again, her enemies would then have proposed terms yet more alluring, to tempt her to stay on the Continent.

Alderman Wood, in obedience to her majesty's wishes, wrote to Lord Hutchinson, and sent his letter back by his lordship's messenger.

Shortly before seven on the ensuing morning, the Prince Leopold got under weigh, and her majesty departed from the French shores. She was greeted as she passed by the pier by the acclamations of a vast number of the English inhabitants. Unfortunately the wind being due

west for several hours, prevented the packet from making any way; but at about eleven o'clock a breeze sprung up from the south, and very speedily brought the Queen of England near her own shores.

Her majesty was much indisposed from the customary effects of the motion of the vessel; but this subsided as she approached the British shore, on which she kept her eyes steadily fixed.

The certainty of her majesty's approach having been ascertained from the royal standard flying at the mast head of the Prince Leopold, which could be distinctly seen with glasses from the heights, the greatest bustle prevailed. Some confusion seemed to exist among the military authorities as to the mode of receiving her majesty. At last Colonel Monroe, who is the commandant of the garrison, determined to receive her majesty with a royal salute: he observed, as we are informed, that as no special instructions had been sent to him, he conceived he should best discharge his duty by obeying the general rule, which was to fire a royal salute whenever a royal personage landed at Dover. This sensible decision gave great satisfaction to the people of Dover, who were already flocking in vast numbers, and all dressed as if for a fête, in order to view the disembarkation of their queen. The packet, at about a quarter before one, came close into the roads, but on account of the tide, could not enter

the harbour. Her majesty, with her usual promptitude, as soon as she understood that it would be five o'clock before the vessel could get into the pier, determined to go ashore in an open boat, though the swell of the water was so considerable as to make it difficult to descend the ship's side. At length, however, her majesty and suite were safely placed in the boat, which rapidly approached the shore, amidst the most enthusiastic cheerings from the countless multitude on the beach, the heights, and all the avenues leading to the principal hotel.

At one o'clock her majesty set her foot on British ground: the royal salute began to fire, and an universal shout of congratulation welcomed her arrival. For a few moments her countenance and manner bespoke considerable agitation. She was visibly affected by the cordial symptoms of regard which welcomed her home; but she soon recovered herself, and with a firm step, a composed manner, and a smiling but steady countenance, walked slowly along the crowded ranks of the principal inhabitants. Well-dressed females, young and old, saluted her as she passed, with exclamations of "God bless her; she has a noble spirit; she must be innocent." The queen returned the salutations with the warmest marks of affectionate pleasure, and repeatedly thanked the ladies for their expressions of cordial attachment. She appeared in good health, her blue eyes shining with peculiar

lustre, but her cheeks had the appearance of a long intimacy with care and anxiety. She is not so much *en bon point* as formerly, and her manner and figure altogether seemed perfectly befitting her exalted station. She was dressed with great elegance, in a rich pelisse, lined with fur, a black sarcenet gown, white ruff, black satin hat, and a rich plume of black ostrich feathers.

Sir Edward Hamilton came forward to meet her majesty, and she rested on his arm. As she moved along, the crowd gathered so fast, and pressed so closely round her, that she was compelled to take refuge in the York-hotel. Mr. Wright, of the Ship-hotel, seeing that it would be impossible for her majesty to reach his house on foot, immediately despatched a handsome open carriage to the York-hotel. Her majesty, Lady Hamilton, and Alderman Wood, ascended the carriage; the populace removed the horses, and drew it themselves. A band of music preceded her majesty, and two large flags, bearing the inscription of "God save Queen Caroline," were carried by some of the principal tradesmen. A guard of honour was placed at the door of the hotel, but the people did not seem to relish their appearance, and the queen observing to Alderman Wood that their presence appeared rather to produce an unpleasant and angry feeling, the worthy alderman suggested the propriety of their going away. After playing "God save the King," the soldiers retired, and the populace seemed

highly delighted. Her majesty observed, that although she appreciated as it deserved the attentions of the commandant, yet that she wanted no guard of soldiers; her firm reliance was on the just principles and cordial attachment of her people. Her majesty then went to the principal window of the hotel, and bowed several times with great grace and sweetness of manner to the happy assemblage. She then retired, and, first taking a slight refreshment, lay down to rest after the harassing fatigues of body and mind which she had undergone. At five o'clock she awoke, and desired that the carriages, which she now understood had been brought on shore, should be speedily got ready, as she would set off for Canterbury that evening. The crowd round Wright's hotel continued to increase from persons flocking to the spot from all parts of the surrounding country. The cries of "Long live the Queen" were repeated from all quarters, and at length her majesty appeared at the window. This led to a renewal of popular acclamations which burst from all quarters with an almost unparalleled enthusiasm.

The following extract from a letter, contains some further particulars of the most interesting event of the queen's landing.

"Dover, May 5.

"My dear sir,

"Her majesty the queen embarked at Calais, on board of the Leopold packet, at about ten

o'clock at night, on the 4th, and sailed at six this morning. After getting outside of the harbour, she remained on deck until her arrival at Dover, though the sea was considerably agitated by a smart and unfavourable breeze, and she experienced the sufferings of sea-sickness severely. At about a quarter past one this day her majesty landed, under a salute from the batteries, and the naval squadron in the roads. She was accompanied by Lady Ann Hamilton, Alderman Wood, and his son; Mr. Austin, two couriers, and some domestics. All her Italian court have remained behind. The crowd collected was immense. It may truly be said that it comprised nearly the entire of the most respectable as well as of the inferior classes in Dover and the neighbourhood, as far as Canterbury. It comprised almost every individual of both sexes and of all ages, who was not detained at home by illness or other reasons equally cogent. The oldest inhabitant of Dover does not recollect an instance of such an immense mass, not even at the landing of the emperors did the crowd equal by one half the aggregate collected this day to witness and hail her majesty's return. The feeling was universal, and the air was literally rent with acclamation, and cries of "God save Queen Caroline—God save our good Queen!" The anxiety of all ranks to see and welcome her majesty was so great, that it was not without considerable difficulty she could make her way up from the beach through

the admiring crowd, whose well-intentioned, but inconvenient pressure, was such as to cause her to retire from their good will into the York-hotel, where she remained for a short time. Her carriage was then brought to the door, but the unanimous voice of the assemblage demanded that the horses should be unharnessed, and her majesty was drawn to the Ship-inn, amidst the triumphant and enthusiastic shouts of thousands of her subjects. Several bands of music attended, and a number of appropriate banners were displayed. On her arrival at the Ship, an officer and a guard of soldiers were drawn up at the door, who endeavoured to keep the people off. Her majesty, however, willing to gratify their wishes, said, in a dignified and commanding manner, '*I am come once more amongst free men, and I do not want any soldiers.*' This had the desired effect, and the multitude were no longer prevented from expressing the satisfaction they felt at beholding their queen.—Her majesty subsequently gratified them by appearing two or three times at the window, and each time was greeted with the most rapturous and enthusiastic peals of applause that ever I witnessed; to which she replied in a neat and graceful manner. Never did acclamations proceed more directly from the heart, than those which were thus expressed; and I lament much the absence of some of his majesty's ministers on the occasion, as they would have received a lesson which would have made a deep impression on

them, that is to say, *if any thing short of supernatural could affect them.* An address of congratulation was immediately moved, and presented to her by the freemen and the respectable inhabitants of Dover; in fact, had I the descriptive powers of Sir Walter Scott, I could give you but a very faint idea of the enthusiasm excited by her arrival. Suffice it to say, that she need not have a horse harnessed to her carriage between this and London.

“ On this momentous occasion her majesty has acted with a spirit and decision highly creditable to her. The proposals which Lord Hutchinson was directed to make to her, were insulting to her dignity, and derogatory to her character as a queen, and as a female. She was required to reside on the continent—not to assume the title of queen—to *relinquish all honours and titles appertaining unto the royal family—and never to return to England!!* The reward proffered for her thus acceding to her own dishonour, and tacitly admitting the accusations against her to be well-founded, was to be *fifty thousand per annum!!* Her majesty replied in a dignified but firm manner, ‘*Tell Lord Hutchinson that I will return an answer to them in London.*’ ”

Another account says, it is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which her majesty was received at Dover. Thousands of well-dressed ladies appeared on the beach and at the windows, welcoming her majesty in the most enthusiastic

manner. A number of flags were displayed, on which were written "God save Queen Caroline," and a variety of other suitable inscriptions. On the approach of the boat which conveyed her majesty from the packet to the shore, the people assembled, greeted her with the most rapturous applause. Sir Edward Hamilton then came forward to conduct her majesty to a carriage prepared for the occasion. She was preceded by flags and a band of music, and as soon as she was seated in the carriage, the people drew her from the beach to Wright's hotel, where the military were assembled. Her majesty's arrival was announced by the firing of guns from the heights. A large crowd assembled round the hotel, and on her majesty's appearing at the window, the utmost enthusiasm was displayed.

At six o'clock a deputation of the inhabitants of the town of Dover begged to be introduced to her majesty, stating that they were anxious to present to her an address, expressive of their feelings on her majesty's arrival in her own kingdom.

The moment the arrival of these gentlemen was mentioned to her majesty, she desired that they might be admitted to her presence. She stood at the upper end of the room, Alderman Wood on her right, and Lady Hamilton on her left hand. The deputation soon entered, and, bowing with great respect, advanced close to her Majesty, when one of the gentlemen read the following address :—

“ To the Queen’s most excellent Majesty.

“ May it please your royal majesty,—We, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of the town and port of Dover, beg leave to approach your majesty’s most gracious person, to offer our most hearty congratulations on your majesty’s safe arrival in your own kingdom. We beg leave to assure your majesty how deeply we deplore the events which, under the dispensation of Divine Providence, have so lately taken place in this nation, and beg leave to offer your majesty our sincere condolence on the demise of our late much-beloved and ever-to-be-lamented most gracious sovereign, and to assure your majesty of our firm attachment to the house of Brunswick, and of our determination to support, at all times, those principles which placed them on the British throne. We rejoice at the opportunity which your majesty has at this time been graciously pleased to afford us of addressing you, for whom we entertain the highest and most profound veneration and respect; and to assure your majesty how fully we participate in every happiness you can experience: and more particularly on your being now placed on the British throne as Queen of England. May this event, so pleasing to the nation, be productive of permanent felicity to your majesty, and may your reign over us be long and happy.”

To this her majesty returned the following most gracious answer:—

“ I am deeply impressed with all the attention the town of Dover has shewn to me on my arrival in these realms. I trust that some period will arrive, when I may be permitted to promote the happiness of my subjects, as I indeed feel most gratified in being again united to so noble and generous a nation.”

The deputation had the honour to kiss her majesty's hand, and retired deeply impressed with her condescension. Several ladies were afterwards permitted to enter the room, and were kindly received by her majesty.

Her majesty ascended her carriage at half-past six. The crowd collected was beyond all calculation. The carriage was drawn by the populace completely out of the town, amidst loud and reiterated cheers, and accompanied by persons bearing flags, and a band of music, playing “ God save the King.”

The horses were then put to, and her majesty proceeded on her journey to Canterbury, followed by the blessings of her people, who lined the roads on each side in treble and quadruple rows. Alderman Wood shared in the general approbation of the multitude.

RECEPTION OF HER MAJESTY ON THE ROAD TO LONDON.

In consequence of the delays occasioned by the good-will of the inhabitants of Dover, her majesty

did not reach Canterbury till half-past nine o'clock. It was quite dark. The scene, however, became singularly beautiful from the effect of 100 flambeaux, which were lighted at the entrance of the city, and carried by men. This illumination discovered upwards of ten thousand persons, who were anxiously expecting her majesty's approach, and who, the moment they caught sight of her carriage, gave three cheers, and continued to cry "Long live Queen Caroline." The horses were taken from the carriage, and her majesty was drawn through the main street by the multitude. On reaching the house of the mayor, the crowd stopped, and renewed their cheers. Her majesty reached the Fountain-hotel at a quarter to ten o'clock, and immediately alighted amidst continued testimonies of loyalty and attachment.

The following correspondence appears to wear a singular complexion, and were it not authenticated by all the leading journals, we should be disposed to question its accuracy. If a guard of honour had been ordered for her majesty by orders from government, at Canterbury, how happens it, that it is not granted to her in the metropolis? We can only account for this apparent neglect, by supposing that the offer of the guard was made, but refused.

Message to the commanding officer of the guard, at the Fountain-hotel :

"The mayor presents his compliments to the

commanding officer, and requests to be informed of the occasion for the guard being turned out?"

"Canterbury, June 5."

ANSWER.

"The commanding officer's compliments; the guard is out, in consequence of orders from government, to meet the queen."

In consequence of the above, the mayor summoned the House of Burghmote, who unanimously voted to address the queen, which was presented by a deputation, consisting of the sheriff and town clerk.

Her majesty had been met on the road by the sheriff and town-clerk of Canterbury, in a chaise and four, to request she would allow the mayor and corporation to present her an address. When her majesty arrived, the mayor and corporation were in attendance. They were attired in their corporate dresses. They were immediately received by her majesty in the same form as the deputation of the inhabitants of Dover.

The mayor then read in a distinct voice an address, of which the following is a copy:—

"We, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the mayor, aldermen, sheriff, and common-councilmen of the ancient city of Canterbury, beg leave most respectfully to approach your royal presence with our sincere and hearty congratulations on your majesty's safe arrival in this city; and to express our fervent hope that your majesty

may long live in the esteem and admiration of a loyal and dutiful people.—5th *June*, 1820.”

Her majesty immediately delivered the following most gracious answer:

“ Gentlemen—I am very much obliged to you for the attention you have shown me, and certainly, if it is ever in my power, I shall be happy to do any thing for the good town of Canterbury, and to make my people happy. Gentlemen, you must excuse this short address, as I am very tired; but I speak from my heart, and I am sure you will like that better than a formal address. I shall never forget the loyalty and affection that are shown to the house of Brunswick by this noble and generous nation.”

The members of the corporation were then introduced to her majesty, and had the honour to kiss her majesty's hand. Several ladies who attended to witness the ceremony, had likewise the honour of conversing with her majesty, and kissing her hand. The mayor, in presenting the address, was accompanied by seven aldermen out of the twelve of which the corporation consists, the sheriff, the town-clerk, and sixteen common-councilmen out of the twenty-four who compose the council. Her majesty retired early to her bedchamber.

On the following morning her majesty rose at nine, and intimated that she would set out on her journey to London at half-past ten. The horses

and carriages were ordered accordingly. Although the morning was extremely unfavourable, from a continued fall of rain, the street in front of the hotel was filled with well-dressed persons, and every window was thronged with spectators.

The people would not permit the horses to be put to the carriage, but insisted upon drawing her majesty completely through the town. From the windows on each side of the street flags bearing appropriate devices were displayed, and the ladies were every where seen waving their handkerchiefs, and joining in the general exclamations of "Long live our gracious Queen," "Long live Queen Caroline," &c.

At Canterbury, her reception was peculiarly marked, and after the address was presented, the corporation, with several other gentlemen of the town, had a grand supper at the Fountain Inn, at which Mr. Alderman Wood was present by special invitation, and at which the healths of the king and queen were drank with acclamations of applause. At an early hour an immense multitude filled the streets in the vicinity of the Fountain-inn, and at ten o'clock her majesty appeared at the window; she was immediately saluted by loud and long-continued cheering. Her majesty expressed her acknowledgments, and waving her handkerchief, silence was restored, upon which she said, "My good people, as you cheer me, I pray you to cheer the king also," which the people accordingly did, her majesty

waving her handkerchief as long as the cheers for the king continued. Her majesty addressed the people in the same manner at every village and town along the road at which she met with any expression of popular applause; she spoke, indeed, with peculiar fervour to the people at Dartford.

A great many of the young officers of the cavalry regiments, stationed at Canterbury, accompanied her majesty on horseback from Canterbury to Sittingbourn.

Through every village on the route towards London the same enthusiasm prevailed. All business was at end, and every class of society seemed to feel it a duty to pay homage to her majesty. The bells of the churches were set ringing, and all was joy and exultation.

At the bottom of Chatham-hill the whole population of the town of Chatham and its vicinity were collected to bid her majesty welcome. An attempt was made to renew the compliment of drawing her majesty through the town; but as her majesty was anxious to get to London before the close of day, at her request the people desisted. She was, however, cheered from every house as she passed, and all were alike loud in their acclamations of applause. The scenes described as having taken place in the other towns were renewed until she had gone completely through Rochester and Stroud. She was also attended by a very numerous cavalcade of horsemen, and was preceded by two of the Kentish

yeomanry on horseback, who accompanied her all the way to Shooter's-hill, where they took their leave.

At Gravesend the inhabitants came forth, and placing a rope across the road, insisted upon drawing her majesty through the town. Alderman Wood endeavoured to dissuade them from their well-meant intentions, but they entreated to be permitted to gratify their wishes as a boon, and her majesty consented. The carriage was drawn completely through the town amidst reiterated cheers. Flags were displayed from all the windows, handkerchiefs were waved, and all was sincere and unaffected enthusiasm.

At Northfleet the same demonstrations of delight were evinced.

From Dartford a number of horsemen came forth to meet her majesty, and preceded her to the commencement of the town, where persons were prepared with ropes to draw the carriage, which they effected without opposition, and drew it to the Bull Inn. Here a change of horses took place, and while this was effecting, the populace opened the carriage and nearly overwhelmed her majesty with their affectionate caresses. She bore their salutations with the greatest good humour and affability.

Mr. Alderman Wood having expressed a desire to send off an express to Mr. Denman, to request him to meet the queen—and another to Mrs. Wood, to announce her majesty's arrival, a

gentleman with a fine blood-horse tendered his services, and rode off with the rapidity of lightning.

At Dartford the highest demonstrations of respect were paid by the people. Immense crowds from the metropolis were assembled on Shooter's hill. On descending, the carriage of her majesty was nearly upset, but fortunately no injury was experienced. All the way from Shooter's-hill to the inn at Blackheath, her majesty was received in the same warm and cordial manner, and crowds assembled before the inn, anxiously calling on her majesty to make her appearance. Mr. Alderman Wood explained to them, that as soon as her majesty had received some refreshment, she would appear. Her majesty at last appeared at the window, and was cheered, as usual, by the loudest acclamations.

All the way into the metropolis, her majesty was accompanied by numbers of carriages and horsemen, and the road was crowded the whole way, by persons who had been anxiously waiting from an early hour for her majesty. The enthusiasm with which she was received on her approach to the metropolis was indescribable, and left no doubt of the sympathy and regard of the people of this country. These were every where so unequivocally displayed, that no one could possibly mistake them.

Her majesty the queen arrived in town shortly after seven o'clock.

Her arrival was known in the House of Commons, by the loud acclamations of the people with which her majesty was greeted on crossing Westminster-bridge. She appeared in an open carriage, in which Lady Hamilton, and Mr. Alderman Wood were recognised. Her majesty was dressed in black, looked uncommonly well, and in excellent health; she was evidently affected by the grateful reception she met with. Her carriage was surrounded by a number of gentlemen on horseback, followed by a number of carriages, some of which were of her suite. She proceeded down Parliament-street, Charing-cross, Pall-mall, St. James's-street, and on to South-Audley-street, the residence of Mr. Alderman Wood.

It is difficult to give a just picture of the manner in which her majesty was received by her people—never was witnessed a more glowing, a more generous or enthusiastic expression of the public feeling. The streets through which she passed were literally crammed with anxious crowds, suddenly collected, all animated by one sentiment of regard and of devotion to this illustrious personage. Her entrance was, in fact, a triumphal entrance. All ranks of society seemed to vie with each other in shewing to her majesty the tenderness due to a persecuted woman, the respect and attention due to the Queen of England. Almost all the windows of all the houses in the streets through which the

cavalcade passed, were filled with elegant women and gentlemen, who paid to her majesty every demonstration of respect. One continued shout was heard long before her majesty crossed Westminster-bridge, but greatly increased as the crowd increased when she passed by Carlton-palace.

As she proceeded up Pall-mall and St. James's-street, the interest of the scene thickened—the windows of all the elegant and fashionable houses at that end of the town were thronged with spectators; the brilliant effect was increased in interest and dignity by the affectionate congratulations from every quarter, by the prayers, by the cheering congratulations of every rank, age, and sex. In the different Club-houses of St. James's-street, the noblemen and gentlemen appeared in the windows and on the balconies in considerable numbers, and paid their respects to her majesty as she passed. Her majesty's progress as she approached South Audley-street was much retarded, so great was the pressure of the people, all anxious to catch a glance of the mother of their late beloved princess—all animated by one feeling of duty, loyalty, and devotion.

She descended from her carriage amidst the loud and enthusiastic plaudits of the crowd, which now filled all the avenues leading to South Audley-street.

In a few minutes after, her majesty, followed

by Mr Alderman Wood, appeared on the balcony, as she came forward, the shouts of the multitude rent the air. Her majesty was repeatedly greeted with cries of "Queen Caroline, Queen Caroline for ever," "God bless your majesty," "God protect your dignity and your innocence."

Her majesty, evidently labouring under the strongest feelings, was pleased, in the most gracious manner, to acknowledge the salutations of the people.

As it is our wish not to omit a single particular relative to the arrival of her majesty, we subjoin the following account, which, though is some particulars resembling the foregoing, yet is more explicit and diffuse.

Neither the degree of uncertainty which accompanied the arrival of her majesty, nor the unfavourable state of the weather, could extinguish the ardour which prompted hundreds to assemble at an early hour, in order to hail and congratulate her return. From the moment that she decided as to the course she would adopt, and resolved to throw herself on the people of England, all her proceedings have been so open, so divested of the mystery usually attending a royal journey, that few were in danger of miscalculating the different stages of her progress. Her majesty's arrival seemed to have been greeted not as an unlooked for, but as a natural and almost necessary event. On all those outskirts of the town which point or lead to the high Dover road, at the Obe-

lisk in St. George's-fields, at the Elephant and Castle, and the Bricklayers' Arms, the multitude began rapidly to increase about three o'clock. The more loyal publicans hoisted a royal ensign on the staff of their sign-posts, and at Deptford the union jack was suspended in two or three places across the road. Symptoms of an impatient curiosity, mingled with those of a deep and powerful interest, became stronger in each succeeding hour. At half-past six her majesty passed the Bricklayers' arms, and here she was greeted by new multitudes, waving their hats and handkerchiefs, and renewing the shouts of exultation already described. On pursuing its route over Westminster-bridge, the crowd re-assembled in one compact body, and, preceding or following in the train, accompanied the procession to its close. The ladies, it may be supposed, felt a peculiar interest on the occasion, and testified the warmth of that feeling by every demonstration not unbecoming the delicacy of their sex. Though not originally intended to pass up Pall-mall, this direction was taken by the great body of horsemen who preceded the royal carriage, and it was not thought necessary to turn suddenly off. The sentries on duty at Carlton-house presented arms, but in a manner indicating that some reserve and embarrassment extended even to their humble stations. It was now understood that her majesty was to proceed to the house of Mr. Alderman Wood, in South Audley-street, there to fix

her abode for the present. Thither all parties, whether on horseback or on foot, now began to hasten, and soon swelled into a countless multitude those who, from better or earlier information, had already stationed themselves in that quarter. Considerable difficulty was experienced in leading up her majesty's barouche to the door. The tide of popular feeling was at its flood, and the air rung with repeated cheerings. After the queen had at length entered, there seemed to be no disposition to disperse: vehicles of every kind maintained their position, and the crowd stood compact and immoveable. In a few minutes, Mr. Alderman Wood appeared in the balcony of the first floor, and, we believe, intimated that her majesty would in person testify the sense which she entertained of the respectful sentiments expressed towards her. The clamour then subsided till shortly after, the queen herself appeared, and by a dignified obeisance acknowledged the tokens of affectionate loyalty by which her reception had been graced. The most splendid pageant, the most imposing theatrical exhibition, never imparted a more genuine delight than seemed to pervade all ranks of spectators at this instance of condescending kindness. Her majesty, with a deportment perfectly graceful, walked from one end of the balcony to the other, and, having bowed to all around, withdrew from the ardent gaze which fed upon her presence. The crowd continued rather to increase than diminish during the

evening, and the inmates of every carriage, as well as every horseman who passed, paid homage to the residence of their queen.

At seven o'clock, Mr. Denman attended at South Audley-street, where he had an interview of some length with her majesty, who shewed him all the correspondence she had with Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson. Mr. Denman then, by desire of her majesty, proceeded to Mr. Brougham, who had arrived in town during the morning, and who soon after returned with him to South Audley-street. Both these gentlemen remained some time in consultation with her majesty, and after their departure, her majesty sat down to dinner with Lady Ann Hamilton and Mr. Alderman Wood, the alderman's family having immediately after they received her majesty, left the house, and proceeded to Flagdon's hotel. There also the worthy alderman himself went in the course of the night, leaving his house and servants entirely to the use of the queen.

During the evening there was a partial illumination at the West end of the town, especially at some of the club-rooms. The crowd remained opposite the door till a late hour of the night.

The Countess of Byland, who we stated to have arrived at the Kingston-hotel at Calais, did not see her majesty in France, but came to Dover by a subsequent packet. The countess followed her majesty to Canterbury: and the ensuing day, joined in her suite with a carriage and four horses.

She did not accompany her majesty to South Audley-street.

As her majesty advanced along the Greenwich road, a gentleman who had seen her depart at St. Omer's, and who had followed her to England, and reached London on Tuesday the 6th, came to meet her in a post-chaise and four with the intelligence of the message sent by the king to the two houses of Parliament. Her majesty received the information with perfect calmness. Had her majesty reached town in time, it was her intention to have sent an immediate message to both houses herself.

Her majesty left the child which accompanied her to St. Omer's in that town, for the purpose of being conveyed back to its parents in Italy; but, at the same time, gave a strong and affectionate assurance of future protection.

On the following Wednesday, a crowd again assembled in front of her majesty's temporary residence, and by repeated cheers and cries of "Long live Queen Caroline," testified the interest which they took in her fate. Every passenger was called upon to take off their hats as they passed the house, a request which was in almost all cases cheerfully obeyed.

In the course of the day her majesty's door was crowded by ladies and gentlemen making inquiries as to her health, and leaving their names with complimentary congratulations on her arrival in England.

Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman held a consultation with her majesty as to the measures which might be most advisable to adopt, in consequence it of the message from the king to the two houses of parliament. The result was a determination to send a message from her majesty to both houses of Parliament.

On the day subsequent to the arrival of her majesty, Lord Liverpool appeared in the House of Lords and presented a message from the king, which he handed to the Lord Chancellor, who immediately read it to the following effect:

“G. R.

“The king deems it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the queen, to communicate to the House of Lords certain papers relative to the conduct of her majesty since her departure from this country, which his majesty recommends to the immediate and serious attention of the house.

“The king has felt a most anxious desire to avert, by all the means in his power, a necessity as painful to the people as to his own feelings; but the step taken by the queen leaves him no alternative.

“The king feels the utmost confidence in making this communication, that the House of Lords will adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case, and the honour and dignity of his crown require.”

The royal message being read,

The Earl of Liverpool, by his majesty's command, then laid on the table the papers referred to in his majesty's message. [They were contained in a green bag.] He intended to propose that his majesty's most gracious message should be taken into consideration to-morrow, when he meant to move an address upon it. The terms of the address would be such as not to pledge their lordships to any thing further than to thank his majesty for his communication, and to assure his majesty that their lordships would adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case and the honour and dignity of the crown should appear to require. He would then move to refer the papers he had laid on the table to a secret committee, having for its object to inquire whether any and what course of proceeding should be adopted. He then moved that his majesty's most gracious message be taken into consideration to-morrow, and that their lordships be summoned for that day.

The House of Lords was exceedingly crowded during the above proceedings. The Duke of Clarence, Duke of Sussex, and Duke of Gloucester, were present. Most of the ministers who have seats in the house were also present, and the opposition benches were full. The number of peers in attendance was uncommonly great.

In the House of Commons the following interesting proceedings took place :

MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

Lord Castlereagh appeared at the bar of the house.

The Speaker.—Lord Castlereagh, what have you got there?

Lord Castlereagh.—A message from the king.

The Speaker desired him to bring it up.

The noble lord then brought up a paper and a sealed green bag: the paper he gave into the hands of the Speaker; the green bag he laid upon the table.

The Speaker then proceeded to read the message, amidst loud cries of “hats off.”

When the message was read, Lord Castlereagh, in a very low tone of voice, moved the thanks of that house to his majesty for his most gracious message. We understood him also to state, that on to-morrow he should move that the papers alluded to in said message (and which were brought down in a bag), should be referred to a secret committee.

Mr. G. Bennet rose, but as the motion for the vote of thanks had precedence, he sat down until the vote was carried.

Mr. Bennet.—Mr. Speaker, seeing no member near me disposed to put a question to the noble lord, and with a full persuasion of my own humility, I still feel most anxious to know from him, whether a letter which has this day appeared in one of the public journals, and which purports to

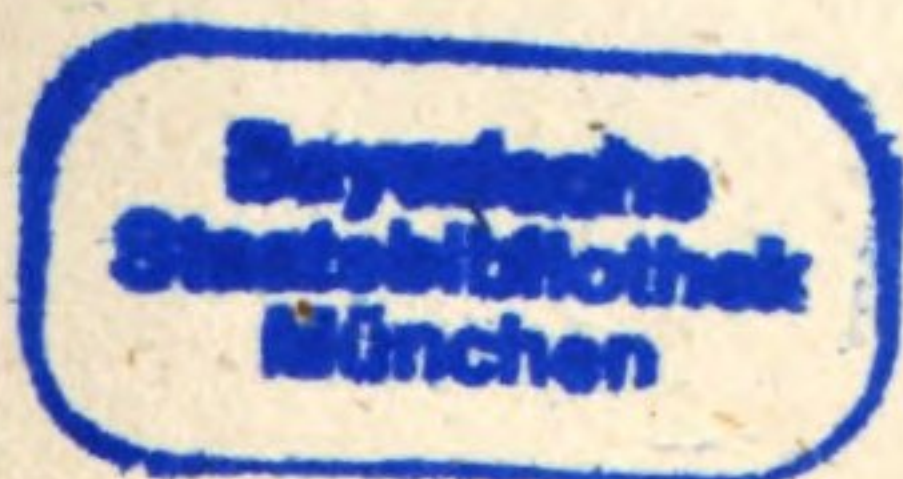
be the letter of Lord Hutchinson to the legal adviser of the queen of England, is, or is not a genuine document? Whether Lord Hutchinson had instructions from the ministers of the crown to call upon the Queen of England to lay down her right and title—a right held by the same constitutional securities as that of the king himself—for a bribe of 50,000*l.* a-year? I do feel most anxious to have an answer to this question, because, hardy as I know his majesty's ministers to be—so hardy, to use the words of my right honourable friend Mr. Tierney, as even to betray the king and insult the queen, he still could not believe that even they would venture to authorise such a proposition. I, for one, will never assent to the genuineness of that document, until I hear it admitted by the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh). Until that admission shall be made, I can never give credit to the statement, that a British ministry, without the authority and consent of Parliament, would have dared to call upon the Queen of Great Britain to divest herself of that title which she holds by the same right as the king himself does his title, for a bribe of 50,000*l.* a-year—a bribe too, not to be paid by the king himself, but to be taken out of the pockets of the people of England, labouring under the severest distresses, and to be given to a person against whom, if the statements circulated against her were true, was not alone unworthy of being the Queen of England, but of being allowed

to place her foot upon its shore. There were no words strong enough to convey an adequate impression of such a proposition. To call it treason to the monarchy, might be considered extravagant, but I cannot consider it less than an act of treachery to the monarchy of Great Britain. Feeling a sincere respect and attachment to that monarchy, upon whose credit and character I believe the peace and security of this country essentially to depend, I could not as an honest man, postpone the duty I feel, of hearing the ministers of the crown admit or deny the fact of the genuineness of the document now before the public—whether or not they had transmitted a person to make such an offer—whether they, the ministers of the crown, are parties to the proposition of calling upon the Queen of England without the consent, authority, or knowledge of Parliament, to lay down her title for 50,000*l.* a-year.

Lord Castlereagh, in a very low tone of voice, observed, that he could not help admiring the peculiar temper under which the honourable member rose to put his question. It must be felt by the honourable member as a most auspicious state of mind, under which to discuss one of the most grave and important questions, perhaps, ever submitted to the sober and deliberate consideration of Parliament; a consideration in which were involved no less than the dignity and honour of the crown, and the peace and tranquil-

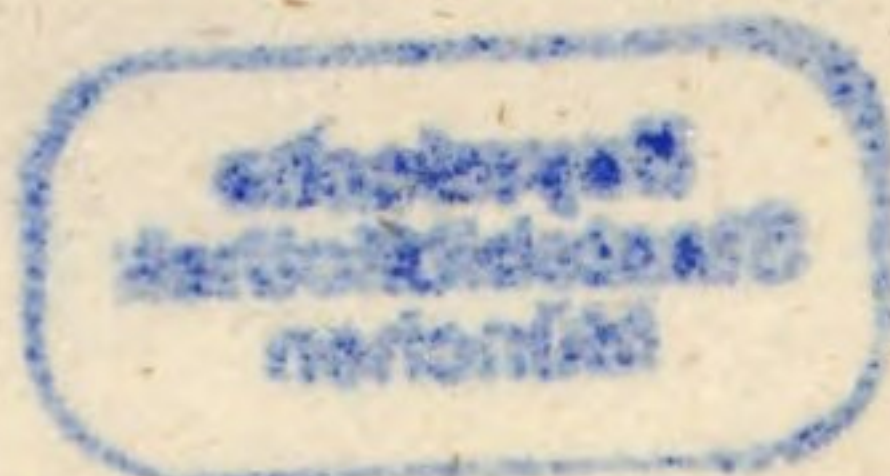
lity of the country. With such an impression of that most grave and important deliberation, the honourable member must allow him to say, that even out of tenderness to him he should decline answering the question. He had already communicated to the house the course that was intended to be pursued; and he put it to the honourable member and to the house to say, whether there ever had been a consideration, affecting so peculiarly the feelings and interests, submitted to the attention of Parliament, in language less calculated to provoke any warm or intemperate discussion. In the most ordinary act, even in the discussion of a turnpike bill, a previous notice was required, and surely on a question of the present character a notice of such an intention might have been expected. As the honourable member, he well knew, was at times able to combine very contradictory qualities, he would himself feel the impropriety of giving way to any precipitance. If such were his wish, it was open to him to give a notice for to-morrow when the discussion of the motion already noticed would afford ample opportunity.

Mr. Beaumont did not consider the question put by his honourable friend at all calculated to throw any impediment in the progress of the course proposed by the noble lord. It appeared to him to be a very fair and reasonable question. From the want of an answer to it, and the evident disinclination of the noble lord to give it, it was



evident that this extraordinary letter was genuine, but that his majesty's ministers were ashamed to own it.

Mr. Creevey observed, that so convinced was he of the propriety of the question put with so much feeling by his honourable friend (*Mr. Bennet*) that had it not been put, it was his intention to have moved for the production of the papers connected with the late negociation at *St. Omer's*. The Queen of England was to be prosecuted now, for what?—for having dared to set her foot in England. His majesty had the same objection to be in the same country with his queen that he once had to be in the same drawing-room with her. We were now to have a prosecution founded on the result of an unsuccessful menace, and an unaccepted bribe, a bribe offered to the Queen of England to renounce her title. When his majesty called upon the house, by his gracious message, to interest themselves in the consideration of that evidence which was placed in the bag before them—a course which he thought the house would not be right in pursuing, he called upon them to become parties in a private prosecution—a prosecution in which the same person was the accuser, party, prosecutor, procurer of evidence, and might in the end, as the third estate, in the event of a bill of attainder, be the judge. Since the time of *Henry VIII.* the English House of Commons had not been in the habit of thus interfering with the Queens of Eng-



land. Let them beware how they venture on such a course. Let that house not participate with a cabinet, whose fifteen members had on a former night left their duty there to arm against a single woman. Who was she? The daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, the niece of the late king, the relation and wife of his majesty, and the mother of the lamented Princess Charlotte of Wales. Would any man believe, that had that lamented princess lived, we should have ever heard of these proceedings? would such a message as that communicated to-night have been ever made? There was not a single being who would believe it. He called upon them to pause before they put themselves in such a condition, where every future step would involve them in greater difficulties. That was his honest and sincere conviction, and he should consider himself a disgraced person, if thus feeling, he did not avow them.

Sir R. Wilson said there never was a message so calculated to excite the most serious impressions as that communicated from the throne that evening. He trusted, however, that pending the prosecution, it would be felt a paramount duty to protect the queen from any further indignity. He did not speak of those repeated indignities offered to her by official persons from this country abroad, or by foreign courts under our influence; neither did he speak of such an indignity as that of excluding her from the Liturgy. But he particularly adverted to indignities of such a character as

the compelling the Queen of England, when she arrived at Calais, to sail in a common passage-boat, to hoist the standard of England in a hired conveyance. Was it no indignity that the Queen of England had no roof, no asylum, no house to to which she could repair, but has been obliged to accept the roof of an honest individual? (This remark occasioned a laugh on the ministerial side of the house.) The laugh he did not understand, but he would repeat, an honest individual, who had discharged his various public duties with fidelity, with diligence, and with service to his country. Whatever course the advisers of the crown might pursue, he was disposed to believe that his majesty would not approve of any indignity offered to her, who was once the wife of his affections, and now the partner of his throne.

Lord A. Hamilton stated, that as he had given a strong opinion on the subject before, he should not trespass long upon their attention. Whatever opinion his honourable friend might entertain on the exclusion of the Queen from the Liturgy, he must ever cite such a proceeding as a proof of the attempt to condemn her majesty unheard and unaccused. It was illegal, according to the tenor and principle of the law, which gave the power of altering the names of the royal family from time to time, as fitted the occasion. By a construction at variance with the principle of the law, by what he would not call special pleading, but special quibbling, that law was extended to authorize



CAROLINE,
Queen of England.

From a Painting taken from Life by A. Wivell in June 1820, in the possession of the Publisher.

London, Published by Tho.^s Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, July 22 1820.

such an exclusion. He appealed to the acknowledged principles of British justice, which presumed every person innocent until proved to be guilty, and asked why their protection were to be denied to the queen? He spoke with no authority or previous communication, when he contended that justice could not be done unless her name, previously to every other proceeding, was restored in the Liturgy, as such an exclusion must operate to her prejudice. His majesty's ministers had done every thing in their power to prejudice her majesty's case, and to condemn her before accusation. He implored the house not to suffer that prejudice to have any influence in their deliberations. In adverting to the order in council, by which her majesty's name was excluded from the Liturgy, he expressed a doubt whether that order were not the result of some art and intrigue, and whether advice had not been given to his majesty upon that occasion, for which his ministers were afterwards not willing to be responsible. That order was sent beyond the jurisdiction of the privy-council; for it was sent to the General Assembly in Scotland, where, whatever might be its authority in this country, it was mere waste paper. In point of fact, many of the most respectable clergymen of that country had continued, in spite of the order, to pray for her majesty; and a motion had actually been made in the General Assembly to condemn the order as an improper interference with the rights and privileges of Scotland, as set-

tled by the union. He could not suffer these acts of previous and anticipated condemnation to pass without entering his protest against the injustice of such a measure, and without calling upon his majesty's ministers to extend to the Queen of England that privilege which was not denied to the poorest and meanest of her subjects, the privilege of not being condemned unheard—without calling upon them to retrace their steps, and place the queen in the same situation to meet her trial in which she would have been placed if she had not experienced these acts of injustice on the part of his majesty's ministers.

Mr. Denman said, that it was not his intention at the present moment to enter into any discussion of this most important subject; for, both in a personal and constitutional view of the question, a fitter opportunity would hereafter occur. He confessed that he entertained some apprehension lest he should be betrayed into too strong an expression of those ardent feelings which the subject was calculated to excite, but which, however, gave him infinitely less alarm than the cold, calm, temperate manner in which a proposition of this nature had been brought forward by his majesty's ministers—a proposition full of such weighty consequences to the illustrious individual and to the country. He could not trust himself to press this subject at the present moment; but in common justice to the illustrious individual, whose arrival in the country was greeted with an

accusation founded upon paper and not upon witnesses, and which was to be preferred, not to the ordinary tribunals of the country, but to a secret committee—standing in the particular situation in which he did, he felt himself entitled to call upon the noble lord opposite to state distinctly, when he came down to-morrow for a re-consideration of this awful subject, what was the nature of the proceeding which it was intended to institute against her majesty?

Mr. Brougham said, that at the present moment he would not enter into the merits of the subject, even to the length at which his honourable and learned friend (*Mr. Denman*) had entered upon them. Unhappily (and he said this unfeignedly), unhappily, not merely for the illustrious parties concerned, for this house, for Parliament, and for the country, a resolution appeared to have been taken which rendered any longer silence upon the subject almost impossible. The time had at length arrived when all men would be called upon to make up their minds upon this most important question, and when his lips would be unsealed from that silence which he had hitherto observed. At present he should only say, and it was but fair to give the noble lord this warning, that, in his opinion, at least, as a member of Parliament, his majesty's government would have not only to perform and succeed in the task of proving a strong case against her majesty, but to succeed in another task, foremost in point of time, and of

paramount importance, that of clearly and satisfactorily convincing the house and the country, that there was no longer any possibility left of postponing or suppressing the discussion of this question. In what way soever the merits of this case were decided, in his view of the case, he thought that decision a question of inferior importance, compared with that of shewing that the mere fact of her majesty's landing in this country rendered all further forbearance absolutely impossible. This was so manifest, that he should be wasting the time of the house, were he to urge this point any further. He took it for granted, that the noble lord and his colleagues had addressed themselves to this consideration, and were prepared to stake their places upon the event. He would only add, in his own justification, and in justification of the noble lord who accompanied him upon a recent occasion, that since his entering the house that evening, he had read, with very great astonishment, in one of the public newspapers, a long statement, purporting to be an account of what passed at St. Omer's, which, he repeated, in justification of himself and the noble lord who was still absent, was in many respects a most inaccurate, in some material particulars, a very garbled statement. Through what channel this statement had been made public, or to what breach of confidence the subject had obtained this very extraordinary degree of premature publicity, it was not for him to determine;

and it was hardly necessary for him to add, for the house would not suspect him of so much indiscretion, that not one tittle of these premature disclosures had transpired with his sanction or concurrence:

Upon the motion of Lord Castlereagh, it was then ordered that the papers in the bag delivered by Lord Viscount Castlereagh, be kept in the custody of the clerk of the house.

In the mean time South Audley-street became the scene of the most tumultuous proceedings, in consequence of her majesty's residence.

During the day-time, the people congregated in that and the surrounding streets, calling out—"the queen! the queen for ever!" They also subjected all passengers, especially decently dressed persons, and particularly those in carriages, chaises, or on horseback, to "mob-law." They were compelled to pull off their hats, to huzza for the queen; and then they were frequently, by way of giving a little variety to the scene, pelted with mud, for the amusement of the ruffian mob. But as darkness increased, on each of the evenings, the mobs became more mischievous and unruly.

In the course of Wednesday, some printed placards had been partially posted about town, simply commanding to "illuminate for the queen, this evening!" Some few obeyed this injunction, as the securest mode, and others knew nothing about it. With the exception of some few cries

of "lights, lights!" all remained tolerably quiet except in South Audley-street; but at midnight a band of about one hundred persons issued forth from that street on the proposition to have lights exhibited, or to break the windows. Before they left the front of Alderman Wood's house, however, they began to carry the threat into execution, as the windows of the houses next door and next door but one, were very unceremoniously demolished. In Curzon-street, scarcely a house escaped; and at many of those houses, the fine large squares of the parlour and first-floor windows were entirely broken. The houses in Dover-street and Clarges-street shared a similar fate. Several hundred houses were exposed to this outrage, which there was little opportunity of averting, as the occupants of many of them had retired to rest.

The mob proceeded along Piccadilly into St. James's-square; Lord Castlereagh's house was hooted and pelted, but a new direction was given to their fury, by a solitary exclamation of "Carlton-house! Carlton-house!" in the propriety of an attack upon which, however, all seemed to agree. Thither they accordingly directed their steps; but their movements having become known, some preparations were made to receive them. In the interior of Carlton-house, the Riding-school, &c. there was an increased military guard, and a small civil force; and the whole were under the direction of Sir R. Baker, the chief magistrate of Bow-street Office, who was in attendance, and

remained so till after two o'clock on Thursday morning. The mob, on arriving in front of Carlton-house, and after expressions of disapprobation, assumed fresh daring, from experiencing no interruption, and they then made a rush *en masse*, at one of the gates, endeavouring to force it open. In this they failed, and they soon afterwards deemed it prudent to retire.

During these proceedings, his majesty gave the most positive commands, which were communicated to all persons of authority in attendance, that no hostile steps were to be adopted towards this outrageous mob, but in the extreme case of absolute necessity. The amplest forbearance was of course observed.

A Life-guard patrol paraded Pall-mall and Charing-cross during the night, but all remained quiet.

On Thursday night, June 8th, the mob again assembled in South Audley-street in increased numbers, and evinced a still more daring disposition. As the evening closed, all the neighbouring streets became impassable, from this congregation of the veriest rabble that ever disgraced the metropolis. There were in the throng many decent people who were attracted by curiosity; it having been circulated that her majesty would shew herself in the balcony. During the early part of the evening, the mob confined their proceedings to cries of "Queen! Balcony! Balcony!" and compelling the persons in carriages, and those on foot who passed, to pull off their

hats and huzza, and afterwards pelting them with mud, as the reward of their forced compliance; but as they soon began to display a decidedly mischievous and outrageous character, the more respectable portion of the assemblage were seen very prudently withdrawing themselves.

Those that remained consisted of at least three or four thousand. The cry of the previous night, of "Lights, lights!" was resumed; and even the houses immediately in the neighbourhood of Alderman Wood's residence, notwithstanding that lights were exhibited as soon as possible, in obedience to the "mob-law," became the early objects of attack. Many of the windows which had been repaired during the day were again broken. The house in which the Misses Fitz-Clarence reside was furiously attacked; the door was thumped against, the railings were beaten, and every square of glass in front of the house broken; no lights, however, were exhibited. Several other houses along the street were assailed in a similar manner; that of Mr. Maberly, M. P. at the corner of the street leading down to Grosvenor-square, had its windows broken for not illuminating. In Curzon-street and Clarges-street many windows were again broken, most of those demolished during Wednesday night having also been repaired.

Having gone thus far unmolested the preceding evening, the miscreants assumed more bold, audacious, and threatening tones; they cried out,

“The Ministers, the Ministers!” This proposition was deliberately received with four regular rounds of huzzas; and the progress of their march was then particularised by several voices exclaiming, “Lord Sidmouth’s, Lord Sidmouth’s first!” Assent was given by another round of huzzas; and the mob hurried forward to Lord Sidmouth’s residence, in Clifford-street, Bond-street, by Grosvenor-square and Brook-street.

On arriving in Clifford-street they did not seem accurately to know which was Lord Sidmouth’s house; however, they commenced their operations on the house next door to it, inhabited by Mr. Mitford. As soon as the windows were demolished they found that they had only been attacking one of his lordship’s neighbours; but, as their mistake was soon made known, and all their forces having come up, an assault was commenced on the several windows of Lord Sidmouth’s residence. The lower windows were entirely broken. The signal was then given to proceed to Lord Anglesea’s in Burlington-gardens; but just as they were about to depart a party of eight or ten constables and officers, who had been stationed in Lord Sidmouth’s house, sallied forth, captured three or four of the ringleaders, and succeeded in bearing them off to the watch-house, in spite of some partial attempts at rescue, in which one of the watchmen was severely beaten and knocked about by the mob.

These captures, however, did not check their

progress. They proceeded to the Marquis of Anglesea's. The windows here, as at Lord Sidmouth's house, suffered severely in the parlour and drawing-room: scarcely a whole pane of glass was left.

It was now about eleven o'clock, and it was determined to visit Lord Castlereagh's house once more, and thence proceed into Pall-mall; but there being some vague cries of "The military, the military!" portions of the mob having heard of parties of the horse-guards being out, they faced about, and directed their steps northward, to go in pursuit of their friends who had been taken into custody. It was imagined that they had been taken to Marlborough-street police-office, and with this idea they proceeded in the direction to that office: but near Argyle-street a party of the Life-guards came up with them, and they fled in all directions.

By this time, in consequence of the intelligence that had reached the police and government offices, of the outrages that were taking place, parties of the police, aided by bands of constables and small troops of the horse-guards were called out. About 250 of the horse-guards were out, divided into parties of ten and twenty each, and they traversed the west-end of the town in different directions, meeting each other at stated points, the officers receiving and giving information respecting what they observed. They thus proceeded, backwards and forwards, along Pall-mall, round

St. James's-square, along St. James's-street, Piccadilly, Bond-street, and the neighbouring streets, occupying the line which had been the scene of outrage, and continued to be marked by the presence of small numbers of the dispersed mob. In and about Carlton-house the amplest preparations were again made. About eleven o'clock, the disconcerted parties attempted a partial rally in Pall-mall and St. James's-square, but these well-arranged and effective precautions disappointed them in every quarter.

Though all appeared and was tranquil at midnight in the neighbourhood of Piccadilly, St. James's-square, &c., at two o'clock the following morning the same mobs rallied in Portman-square, almost every house in which suffered from their violence, scarcely a window being left whole. At Mrs. Beaumont's, where there happened to be a party, they became most furious. Not only were the windows demolished, but the carriages in attendance were attacked, and much broken and injured. The mob also proceeded to the Marquis of Hertford's elegant mansion in Manchester-square; and although lights were immediately exhibited, the assailants exclaimed, "that will not do, smash the windows." They did so, broke into the hall, and left this house a complete wreck of their savage fury.

On the 7th, her majesty rose soon after five o'clock, and occupied several hours in writing.

In the course of the morning, numbers of tradesmen went into the mansion, with parcels for the queen. About eleven o'clock, several private individuals, in their carriages, began to arrive, and make enquiries. A servant attended in the hall, with a book, and the enquirers severally put down their names.

Between eleven and twelve, Mr. Alderman Wood waited upon her royal highness the Duchess of Kent by the queen's command, to express her majesty's condolence on the lamented death of the Duke of Kent, and to enquire after the health of her royal highness and her royal infant.

Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman had an interview with her majesty in the course of the morning, and they remained in consultation upwards of two hours.

So early as ten o'clock a considerable crowd had assembled in front of the house, and before noon the whole street for a great distance on each side the house was so thronged, that it was with difficulty the carriages could pass through it. The crowd up to this time was composed chiefly of respectably dressed persons, a very large proportion of them females; but towards two o'clock it began to assume the same tumultuous complexion as on the preceding afternoon. The former cry of "hats off!" was resumed as any coach, cart, or horsemen passed, and the mud was very liberally applied to any person

who was contumacious enough to remain covered whilst passing the house. The *operators*, however, in these doings were exclusively boys, of from eight to twelve years old; but backed by the laughter of the bystanders, they became bolder every moment, and the laughter consequently became louder and more tumultuous; nor was it at all checked by the presence of a number of the Bow-street officers, who were in attendance on the steps of the house, and in front of it throughout the day.

To add to the confusion, great numbers of idly curious persons called out at intervals “The queen!” “The queen!” with the hope, we presume, of inducing her majesty to show herself at the windows; but in this they were totally disappointed. This scene continued till nearly four o’clock, when Mr. Alderman Wood appeared upon the balcony. He was instantly greeted with loud cheers, and silence having been at length obtained, he addressed the assembled crowd nearly as follows:—

“Fellow-Countrymen,—I have to address a few words to you on behalf of her majesty.—You must all be aware, that after the fatiguing journey she has undergone, travelling almost night and day for so long a time, she has much need of repose. I am commanded, moreover, to express to you her majesty’s intention not to appear in public pending the discussion of her affairs. Her

majesty has learned, with deep regret, that some persons have been insulted in passing her present residence, and that windows have been broken by individuals affecting to be her friends. She trusts such illegal conduct will not be repeated; and I am commanded to say that it is her express desire that you will, as good citizens, retire peaceably to your homes immediately."

The worthy Alderman bowed and withdrew amidst loud cheering, and immediately after, the crowd began to disperse; but towards dusk a fresh and more extensive one had assembled, and the tumultuous scenes of the preceding evening were likely to be renewed.

The proceedings in parliament on this most important subject, will be perused with peculiar interest. They contain information which could not be elicited from any other quarter, and it must be acknowledged by all parties, that the temperate, candid, and conciliating manner in which this important question has been treated in both houses of parliament, merits the applause and confidence of the country.

On Wednesday the 7th, the Earl of Liverpool moved the order of the day, for taking into consideration his majesty's message; which having been read, he moved an address, thanking his majesty for his most gracious communication.

The Earl of Liverpool said, the course to be proposed was one that would place the whole

subject in the fullest and fairest train of investigation. He then moved, that a secret committee should be appointed, for examining the papers presented to the House relating to the conduct of the queen.

The Marquis of Lansdown said, as far as the secrecy of the inquiry went, which every honest man would wish to be concealed from the public, and all mankind, he would give his assent to the proposition. But it must be admitted that every publicity must be given, in order to enable the illustrious person to urge every thing in her defence. This committee, however, could not be a court of judicature, nor could she be heard before it in her defence. It was impossible to suppose that any course of proceeding could be recommended by the few lords who were to compose the committee, better than could have been advised by the noble lords opposite who were acquainted with the whole of the evidence.

The Earl of Liverpool said, that the principal objection of the noble marquis was, that the house, being a court of judicature, should not be prejudiced. He could say, that if there had been evidence to convict her majesty of high treason, it would not have been proper to lay the case before the House of Commons; but the law officers of the crown should proceed according to the common practice of the law. Besides, he had to say, that even (and he put it only on supposition), if her majesty had committed

adultery with a foreigner abroad, she was guilty of no crime known to our laws, because, and he had it from the highest legal authority, the Act of Edward III. made it only high treason in a Queen or Princess of Wales, to commit adultery with a person owing allegiance to the king. But was it to be made a case without any remedy? It was a case only to be remedied by legislative provision; and he, therefore, though it was the most proper way to refer it to a secret committee, to examine whether any and what course should be adopted, on such a matter. This was not a case which came within the power of the ordinary tribunals, and therefore, this was the most proper mode of proceeding.

Lord Holland said, his objection was, that this course of proceeding would lead to a conclusion highly dissatisfactory to the public, and dishonourable to that house. Whether the measure to be adopted was to be by a bill of divorce or of pains and penalties, that might have been done by the noble earl by bringing down the bill without calling for any investigation. They ought to pause before they took any step on a case which the grand inquest of the nation, (the House of Commons) was about to investigate. By instituting the proposed committee, they expressed an opinion that the matter to be submitted to them could not become a matter of judicial proceedings. The noble lord's law might be very good, but they could not know that the

House of Commons, the great inquest of the nation, might not determine to proceed according to judicial proceedings. He regretted that, with the opinion which the people held of secret committees, such a proceeding should have been commenced. The sound of a green bag, and a secret committee, occasioned the most jealous feelings in the minds of the people, for they recollected the many unpopular laws which had proceeded from them.

The Lord Chancellor said, a secret committee was intended to protect innocence. In fact, what were the grand juries of the country but secret committees. If the committee reported that a judicial proceeding should be had, he knew how to deal with it; if on the contrary, it reported that a legislative proceeding should be adopted, then he knew how to deal with that. It was the privilege of every subject of this country, whether high or low, to have an open and public trial; and in this case, if there must be a trial, God forbid it should not be public.

The Marquis of Lansdown repeated, that it was impossible for the house to assume that the other house of parliament might not think this matter a subject of impeachment.

The Earl of Donoughmore agreed with the learned lord on the Woolsack, that the proposed proceeding was interposing the shield of committees of both houses of parliament before the illustrious personage. The queen consort of these

realms should be not only free from stain, but from the imputation of blemish.

Lord Holland was far from thinking that no inquiry should be instituted in this case; but he thought that inquiry should be made by the grand inquest of the nation—the other house of parliament; and they, who were the supreme court of judicature, should not come prejudiced to any judgment they might be called upon to decide. He did not think the proposed mode of proceeding more severe, or as severe, as many that might be adopted; but he protested against it as unconstitutional.

The Marquis of Lansdown agreed in every word of the explanation of his noble friend.

The motion was then agreed to, and the house adjourned.

As it might have been naturally expected, the queen lost no time in addressing a message to the House of Commons, in consequence of that which had previously been sent down by the king. Her majesty declares that she relies with the utmost confidence upon the support of the House of Commons to defeat the machinations against her. This confidence, it is certain, will never be abused. If any machinations have been or shall hereafter be carried on against the Queen of England, they will most undoubtedly be defeated by the Commons of England. In this respect, they will shun the feelings, and act on the

principles of our late revered monarch, in whose countenance and protection, her majesty readily admits, she always felt secure.

It will, however, be remembered, that the very first step which the late king took, when complaints of his royal daughter-in-law's conduct were laid before him, was to issue a warrant for a secret investigation into the facts by certain noblemen of high and unimpeachable character. It will be remembered too, that though those noblemen acquitted the princess of the most serious part of the charges then brought against her, yet they distinctly reported, in regard to other particulars alleged respecting the conduct of her highness, such as must especially, considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations. They reported that those circumstances must be credited, until they should receive some decisive contradiction ; and that if true, they were justly entitled to the most serious consideration. And upon the report, the whig ministers of the day, by a cabinet minister, advised the king, by a serious admonition, to convey to her royal highness his majesty's expectation, that she would be more circumspect in her future conduct.

It is not for any individual to pronounce, whether her majesty has or has not regarded the serious admonition of the deceased monarch, or whether the impressions of her conduct, which have been received and acted upon by most of the foreign

courts, have any foundation, is a matter at this moment of mere speculation.

The following is the message from the Queen :

“ The Queen thinks it necessary to inform the House of Commons, that she has been induced to return to England in consequence of the measures pursued against her honour and her peace for some time by secret agents abroad, and lately sanctioned by the conduct of the government at home. In adopting this course, her majesty has had no other purpose whatsoever, but the defence of her character, and the maintenance of those just rights which have devolved upon her by the death of that revered monarch, in whose high honour and unshaken affection she had always found her surest support.

“ Upon her arrival, the queen is surprised to find that a message has been sent down to parliament, requiring its attention to written documents ; and she learns with still greater astonishment, that there is an intention of proposing that these should be referred to a select committee. It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were brought forward against her majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her—a privilege not denied to the meanest subject of the

realm. In the face of the sovereign, the parliament, and the country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents, privately prepared by her adversaries, as a proceeding unknown to the laws of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice. She relies with full confidence upon the integrity of the House of Commons for defeating the only attempt she has any reason to fear.

“The queen cannot forbear to add, that even before any proceedings were resolved upon, she had been treated in a manner too well calculated to prejudice her case. The omission of her name in the Liturgy; the withholding the means of conveyance usually afforded to all the branches of the royal family; the refusal even of an answer to her application for a place of residence in the royal mansions; and the studied slight, both of English ministers abroad, and of the agents of all foreign powers over whom the English government had any influence—must be viewed as measures designed to prejudice the world against her, and could only have been justified by trial and conviction.”

The reading of the message was heard with profound silence; the passage in which her majesty demands an open and public inquiry, was received with cheers from all sides the house.

Lord Castlereagh then moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the late mes-

sage of the king.—The message was read by the clerk.

Lora Castlereagh said, that, in rising to call the attention of the house to his majesty's message, he had to assure the house, that he keenly felt the extreme delicacy of this most painful of public questions, and that nothing could have induced ministers to bring it forward until all the efforts to render a discussion unnecessary had proved unavailing. He then proceeded to state what it was the intention of ministers to recommend for the adoption of the house. He protested *in limine* against the insinuation that ministers came down to parliament in the spirit of persecution or of prosecution. Never was there a message delivered to that house on terms more gracious than that to which they now directed their attention. The sovereign sought their advice. Until the nature of the information to be laid before them was known, it was impossible to give that advice; and no vote should be asked of them that night calculated to fetter their judgment upon the final question. It was to be presumed, that the queen's address was advised by her majesty's counsel, and that her majesty apprehended that the charge would be unsupported by evidence, and decided upon before a secret tribunal. It was a matter of astonishment to him that ministers should be suspected of proposing or countenancing any mode of accusation against the illustrious individual, or against the meanest subject, without

affording all opportunities of examining it with publicity, of cross-examining those who supported the charge, and of rebutting the accusation by means of all those safe-guards of personal liberty, which sprung from the spirit of public justice. The serious question for the consideration of the great council of the nation was, what was most likely to lead to the most proper plan of investigation, and satisfy the ends of justice? He was not now speaking of the ultimate course. It would be for the house to decide, after the report of a committee for which he should move, whether the case should be pursued before the high court of parliament, or before the legislature by bill. But it would also be for them to decide whether any proceedings at all should be instituted. The committee, if it should be appointed, could not be charged with the consideration of the question, any more than a grand jury was charged with the decision of the cases submitted to it. The result of the investigation by the committee would, by no means, decide the guilt or innocence of the illustrious individual charged, and the report was not to be looked upon as at all affecting the merits of the ultimate question. The nature of the subject required that the committee should be secret, in conformity with all the precedents upon record. If the interests of the queen were to be considered in the committee, he should certainly recommend the presence of her majesty's attorney and solicitor-general but,

as the committee could have nothing to do with that question, it was advisable to exclude them; for, if it appeared to the committee that her majesty could not properly be impeached, their presence could add nothing to the general impression. On the other hand, if there appeared grounds of charge, those gentlemen would feel themselves in an awkward condition, by being obliged to act as agents of her majesty, and members of the committee, in which they were bound to act conscientiously. Their hands would, in fact, be much more free by their exclusion. With respect to the observations made on the former night by the hon. gentlemen on the opposite side, upon this subject, he thought it necessary to assure them, that they could not consider the step ministers were compelled to adopt in a more painful light than he did, and he thought that they had entered prematurely upon a question, with the details of which they ought to have been more fully acquainted, instead of giving credence to the wild stories that were circulated through the world. He claimed from parliament that they would not raise a presumption upon these reports, and from those who seemed to advocate the queen, that they would not give their sanction to what must, at least, be considered a very doubtful authority. He denied any attempt upon the part of ministers to dishonour or betray either of the royal personages to whose case their attention was directed. No investiga-

tion would have been proceeded in but from necessity ; and the transactions of the last forty-eight hours proved how little was to be expected from negotiations in attempting to prevent the ferment her majesty's arrival in England occasioned. There was also proof within that period of the arts that could be used to excite the popular feeling by the publication of inaccurate and garbled statements. He regretted much that criminal advice which led her majesty to an appeal to the lower orders of the people ; but he acquitted her majesty's legal advisers of that serious charge. At the same time, he could not but applaud the conduct of her majesty, if conscious of her innocence, she came over to this country to prove that innocence. But the conduct of his majesty upon this subject was clear and distinct, and the honourable gentleman (Mr. Brougham) was eight months in possession of the course ministers intended to adopt, in the event of the queen's arrival. Ministers looked to the peace of the country, and were incapable of offering a bribe, but broadly intimated what must have been the inevitable consequences of bringing the question before the country. If the queen had thought proper to keep in a practical state of permanent separation from the king, it would have been the most sacred duty of ministers to avert the calamity. The noble lord then stated, that the king, as master of his family, had a right to make all those exclusions, the name of the queen from the

Liturgy, &c., &c. ; and asserted that the question of the coronation was distinctly at the discretion of the crown. His lordship said, that the ministers had been most anxious to avert the painful issue at which they had now arrived : but it had come. He, therefore, trusted that there would be wisdom enough to meet the question ; and that there would be a spirit of patient inquiry. If any attempt were made to appeal to the public mind, where the troubled spirit was but imperfectly allayed, he must lament the result. If she had listened to weak and mischievous advisers—if she had been approached by persons who were incompetent to advise, and had presumed upon such opportunity, he trusted her majesty would be awakened to a sense of what was due to her station. He concluded with moving, that the papers be referred to a secret committee.

Mr. Brougham then rose. The noble lord himself had not risen with more pain than he did ;—but he could only feel satisfaction that the hour had arrived when this question could be fully and fairly met. He was aware of the importance of the question. He was anxious that the honour, the dignity, and the popularity of the crown should be sustained. The illustrious lady whose cause he advocated appealed not to the mobs to which the noble lord had been pleased to allude. Her majesty did this with confidence ; and for sagacity and propriety of mind he had seldom met any lady that surpassed her. And yet how un-

happily had she been situated ! She had been removed from the salutary domestic controul and comfort which were the best preservatives of female properties ; but had she enjoyed them, endued so largely as was her mind by nature, it would have been most fortunate for the country. It was now left to him to pray and implore the justice of the house in setting out on the inquiry, which was now unhappily forced upon them. Above all, he implored the House to believe her majesty innocent, till the contrary should be proved. Before any charge could be preferred, there was much to be done. He trusted there would be some discussion in that House, even before the noble lord obtained his little inquiry upstairs. To recent circumstances and publications he had previously alluded. All that had passed had not his sanction ; but still some allowances ought to be made for a female unprotected and almost friendless, on coming to this country, after an absence of six years. It was not surprising that her majesty should have listened to friendly and well-meant advice. It certainly was not the result of absolute wisdom ; it was not what he would have advised. It might appear like making an appeal to the people ; but under the peculiar circumstances of the case, allowances ought to be made for her majesty. Considering the acuteness of the noble lord's mind, it was surprising that it should be assumed that the queen's message complained of the proposed committee as if it were

deemed a tribunal of ultimate judicature. That was not the fact, said the noble lord. He (Mr. Brougham), and his learned friend, knew that as well as the noble lord. He knew that any decision of the committee would be powerless beyond the threshold of the committee-room. There were the bills of attainder, and the other great monsters of Henry VIII.'s reign,—but the noble lord, the organ of the present ricketty and shattered ministry, durst not follow those precedents. The noble lord, to attempt any thing of the kind, would require no ordinary power; but to pass any such bill,—to condemn without any public hearing, the noble lord would find to be infinitely beyond any power which he possessed. Therefore, for the noble lord to say what the committee would not do, he should take as no concession; nor should he counsel her majesty to consider it as any concession. It was not even an approximation to an argument; it was not even the shadow of a shade of reason. As to the comparison between the committee and a grand jury, there was no analogy. A grand jury was sworn; it was impartial, and it was impartially selected. The party impanelled had no peculiar interest in the question at issue. A grand jury certainly decided on ex-parte evidence; but what sort of evidence was offered here?—Letters and papers, with or without names, he knew not which, forwarded from beyond the Alps, the result of a commission sent by God knew whom. He was

in utter ignorance of the contents of the green bag ; but this he knew, that all the evidence was within the bag, except some persons might be called to prove signatures. They were the result of a ten months' residence at Milan. A man of high rank and learning, who had stood particularly high in the profession to which he belonged, and who had been esteemed by all who knew him up to that ill-fated hour in which he had engaged in this business, had procured this evidence. This expectant master of Chancery had obtained the contents of the bag. That individual, who had so far forgotten himself, who had so far lowered himself, as to engage in such a transaction, had gone about prying into all corners, and mixing in the lowest conversations, to pick up the idle and malicious gossip. He had mixed with bargemen on the lakes, and ferrymen on the rivers ; with the company of ale cellars and wine servants ; and had taken down the evidence of cast-off menials. He had gone to the impure source of every pollution ; and by such means had the green bag been filled. He (Mr. Brougham) would not say that such base work ought not to be performed ; it might be requisite to resort to inferior means to procure evidence ; but such base work ought to have been performed by hands as naturally base and mean. All that the committee could do was, it was said, as nothing ; but this he denied. The report of a committee of that house was no light matter ; and he would

have gentlemen to reflect how they would like to have their conduct similarly examined, and made the subject of the report of a committee. How would they like to be examined in privacy and darkness, on documents as darkly procured? What would they not give of their earthly goods to escape from such a report? The noble lord said, he could appeal to the house afterwards; so he must if he had no other resource; but not all the oily rhetoric of the noble lord could prove, that if the committee only said, "Aye," the queen was not traduced and blasted. Besides, many things might happen after such an unfortunate result, and before the queen could accomplish the objects requisite to prove her innocence. And then, where was the essence which could wash out the blemish of such a report? No—it was vain to liken the committee to a grand jury. Here the object was to get confirmed the result of a previous inquiry, on which the ministers had expressed their opinion. He said, let them act upon that opinion, without going to the committee. Let them act on their own responsibility, without seeking to shelter themselves behind names more respectable than their own. Why did they not do so? but prizing their places so highly, and to which they held so fast, did they not dare to meet the question as men? He spoke the language of the constitution, when he said they should proceed on their own responsibility. But they sought to proceed by a tribunal that

was unknown. As to the value of the opinion of either, he would as leave have the committee's as the minister's, with this exception,—the minister's opinion would have no stain. The proceeding proposed was gross, glaring, and unpardonable; and after the experience they had had of green bags and secret committees, they had little reason to be fond of them. He and his learned friend were not to be placed on the committee. He thanked the noble lord for this, because it would spare him the pain of seeing the forms of justice half pursued, while the substance was wholly abandoned. Her majesty had commanded him to call for a full, fair, open investigation. The speedier the beginning of it was, the more completely would she be gratified,—the more ample it was, the more decided would be her satisfaction. But, that it would be a short investigation, he, who knew the course of such proceedings, felt it to be impossible. Therefore, no time was to be lost; for, if the investigation went on, they might expect to sit to no ordinary period of the session. But in calling for inquiry, her majesty protested strenuously and decidedly against a secret one. Whether the body by whom her case would be considered were designated a grand jury, a secret committee, a select committee, a private tribunal, or an inquisition, she cared not; but she required, that the body called on to pronounce an opinion on her conduct, whether intermediate or ultimate, should enable

her to hear evidence, to see the witnesses adduced against her, and to confront them by every means within her power. He, as a member of parliament, in the discharge of his duty to the house, and to the country, implored gentlemen, once more, to take into their serious consideration all the circumstances he now finally laid before them. His last prayer to the house on this occasion, the last wish he would breathe on the subject was, that the negotiation which unfortunately had not been brought to a favourable issue, might not be broken off all at once and for ever! but if it were possible, that the country should be spared those calamities to which such an inquiry must give rise. He implored the house to consider how far more virtuous an act they would do, by avoiding such an investigation, rather than by showing their constancy and perseverance in steering, however successfully, through these accumulated difficulties.

Mr. Canning assented to all that had fallen from the honourable gentleman respecting the painful nature of the inquiry. But that inquiry had been forced upon ministers, who had left nothing undone to avoid it. At an early part of the session, ministers were taunted with the dilemma of proving her guilt, or admitting her innocence. But ministers still kept silence, from a wish to avoid so painful an inquiry. In July, 1819, ministers had received a communication, pointing out the same terms as those offered. He did

not mean to state that the queen was a party to the proposal, though from the quarter from which it came, no idea could be entertained that it could have been looked upon as discreditable. In 1814, he had advised the queen to reside abroad, and the same advice he would give in the same circumstances to his nearest relation. He had given that advice because faction had marked her for its own—certainly the case was not altered. By the honourable and learned gentleman's letter, the disclosure was made that all negotiation was prevented by the arrival of the queen in England. The government had acquainted him with all their plans; he was directed to obtain delay and negotiation, and then if he failed, he was informed that government had no other resource than an application to parliament. The question was, whether it was to be an open or a close committee? If there was criminality, it must come to an open inquiry; if not, he had only one wish, that she might come out of this inquiry triumphantly. With an aching heart he went to this investigation; and, if he could, consistently with his duty, he would have retired from it; but he knew that no attempt had been left untried to avert this calamity, but they had been disappointed; and the cup of expectation had been dashed from their lips.

Mr. Brougham pledged himself that he would prove that the illustrious person had no knowledge of the negotiation the right honourable

gentleman had alluded to, any more than the child unborn. The whole was a secret transaction, and his lips were sealed until the result of this investigation; but then he would produce the original terms of that negotiation as his defence. He never had been employed by Lord Liverpool; none of the ministers had ever presumed to ask him to become their agent. The first proposals came not from Lord Liverpool, but from a much higher quarter. Lord Hutchinson was the agent of the government, and from him he expected terms; those terms required her to give up all titles borne by any branches of the royal family. He admitted that, in his opinion, if she could make up her mind on that subject, she had better stay abroad in the unhappy differences which had taken place.

Mr. Tierney said, it was honourable to the king to throw himself on his parliament; but was it true that he had wished for a compromise? If it were so, what had ministers done to promote it? Had they not sent persons from England to collect evidence against her? they had denied; but who did send them? They might shelter themselves behind the miserable quibble that no official commission had been made out. The right honourable gentleman had no need of being so very squeamish in retiring from office; for his firm persuasion was, that for the peace of the country, nothing could be better than that they should retire from office; for after what had

passed, it was impossible they could ever negotiate with the queen in any successful way. He found, however, by their countenances, that gentlemen opposite had no intention of retiring from office. He had no objection to these papers being read in the whole house, with closed doors, in order to strike out all the passages which it might be improper to meet the public eye. But ministers had forced the king to come down as a suitor to parliament. He understood there was to be a pause in these proceedings, in order to give an opportunity for further negotiation. He should not object to that course of proceeding; but he should take the sense of the house on the present motion.

Mr. Wilberforce was sure that there was not a man in the house who was not desirous of preventing the investigation from proceeding farther if it were possible; because, if the step then recommended to them was once taken, retreat would be found impossible after it. If he saw a spirit in the house likely to accede to such a suggestion, he would propose an adjournment of this question for a day or two, in order to see whether, through the instrumentality of common friends, some compromise might not take place between the two parties. On every account such a measure would be desirable, and, amongst others, on account of the public morals, which would not then receive any taint from the disgusting details which the papers then on the

table of the house in all probability contained. Of the feeling with which ministers were actuated upon this occasion he could entertain no doubt; the question went far beyond the point of political feeling. Before he moved he was happy so clearly to perceive the inclination of the house. With his own motives he was satisfied: his only wish was to spare both parties the misery which must inevitably be their lot, if the existing proceedings were carried any farther. The honourable member concluded by moving that the debate should be adjourned until Friday the 9th.

Mr. F. Buxton and Mr. Williams Wynn spoke in its support.—Mr. Stuart Wortley, Mr. Martin (of Galway), Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Gooch, Sir E. Knatchbull, and Mr. Davenport, spoke to the same effect.

Lord Castlereagh then replied to Mr. Tierney's remarks, after which, the question upon Mr. Wilberforce's motion—that this debate be adjourned until Friday—was then put, and carried without a division.

From the judicious and laudable secrecy which was admitted on all sides to be necessary in the prosecution of this momentous affair, few circumstances transpired through any private channel from which any rational conclusion could be drawn of the ultimate issue of the business; indeed, it was partly with the view of rendering her majesty less acceptable to particular individuals, through whose unshaken zeal in her cause,

a garbled statement of the actual progress of the negotiation might be made public, that her majesty left the hospitable mansion of Alderman Wood, and repaired to that of Lady Anne Hamilton, in Portman-street, Portman-square. It must not, however, be considered that this removal, owing to the causes above stated, had any reference to the worthy alderman himself, for we believe with the exception of her legal advisers, he stands as high in the confidence and esteem of her majesty as any individual in the kingdom. The spirit of party has indeed branded him most liberally with the epithets of enemy to the queen, and disturber of the peace of the country; it must, however, be remembered that assertion is one thing, proof another; and, that it is not the mere *ipse dixit* of a hireling writer which will convert an honourable man into a villain or a traitor.

The debate upon his majesty's message having been adjourned on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, on the acknowledged grounds of giving the illustrious parties an opportunity of entering into such a negotiation as might ultimately render all parliamentary interference unnecessary: it was intended to resume the debate on the evening of the 9th; late however on that evening, a communication from her majesty was delivered by Mr. Denman to Lord Liverpool, to the following effect:

“The queen, in compliance with the advice of

her counsel, and of several members of the House of Commons, thinks it proper to inform Lord Liverpool, that she is ready to receive any proposition that is consistent with her honour, which his lordship may be disposed to make on the part of his majesty's government."

It was not without considerable reluctance, and after much persuasion accompanied by an intimation that the step was strongly advised by several members of parliament, friends to her majesty's interest, that the queen was induced even to make the communication in question to Lord Liverpool. Her majesty's desire was in the most unequivocal manner to submit herself to the united and independent wisdom of Parliament; boldly to challenge her accusers to the proof of the allegations which they had declared themselves ready to prefer against her, and firmly to demand the full and unqualified acknowledgment of all her rights as queen of this great empire; and, we believe we may state from authority, that it was her own private resolution to listen to no proposition which should have a tendency to throw the most distant shade upon her fair fame and reputation. She expressed a perfect consciousness of her own innocence, and declared that she was not to be intimidated by implied or positive threats of personal danger, to forget the respect due to the honour and dignity of the Queen of England.

The communication from her majesty gave,

however, a proper turn to the negotiation. The propositions ought certainly to have come from his majesty's government. The queen asked nothing—she was in possession of all the rights and privileges of Queen Consort of England, and it was for those who wished to deprive her of any part of those rights, or to limit the exercise of them, to specify the rights they wish her to renounce, or the limitations they wish to impose. Her majesty would then know whether she could consistently with her honour, for the sake of the peace of the country, make those sacrifices which should be demanded of her.

We believe it may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that at no period of the English history have the debates of Parliament gone before the public with more profound, and melancholy interest, in which there was so much importance as a matter of state, and so much interest as affecting the personal feelings and character of public men.

In the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh rose on the 9th, for the purpose of moving, that the order of the day be read, for going into the adjourned debate for referring the papers brought down with his majesty's most gracious message on a former night. His object in making this motion was with a view to the further postponement of the debate till the following Monday. His lordship observed, that he felt it his duty to take this course in consequence of a communication having

been made to the Earl of Liverpool late in the day. He was sure, from the state of the feeling which he observed in the house, that they would not expect that he should enter into any explanation of the nature of that communication, from a regard to that delicacy which they were sensible it was becoming to observe on this important subject. At the same time he was desirous of preventing any impression being received from the circumstance of his recommending the present proceeding, that there was any alteration in his manner of viewing the question; or that he was actuated by any other feeling on the present occasion, than that which induced him to agree to the motion for adjournment on Wednesday last, *viz.*, that of acting in obedience to what he conceived to be the prevailing wishes of the house.

Mr. Brougham rose immediately, and said that he perfectly concurred in the view which the noble lord took of the importance of this subject; and he perfectly understood, as he had no doubt the house did also, that the operation of the present motion would be that of merely keeping matters in exactly the same state as they were on the last night of this delicate discussion—it was to be understood that no difference existed in the sentiments of either party. With respect to the delay which the noble lord alluded to, in saying that the communication was not received till a late hour of the day, it was necessary to observe, that there had existed a misunderstand-

ing as to which side ought to begin. This arose from a feeling of delicacy on the one hand, and a supposition on the other, that that party which took the first step might seem to give up something of their original demands. He could assure the noble lord that the delay did not originate in any design on the part of the advisers of an illustrious personage to take the noble lord or his colleagues by surprise; it was occasioned by an hesitation in a certain high quarter, which had yielded to the anxious explanations of those whose duty it was to give the best counsel.

Lord Castlereagh again arose, and stated that he had only alluded to the late hour at which the communication was made, in order to explain to the house that it was impossible that it could admit of any explanation being given in reply to it, before the present step was taken. He could assure the honourable and learned gentleman, that no reflection whatever was intended to be made.

Mr. Brougham was sorry to have misunderstood the noble lord; but, in the delicate situation in which the noble lord and himself stood with regard to each other, it was better to enter into a superfluous explanation, than allow a misconception to go abroad on so momentous a subject.

Mr. Wynn said a few words in congratulation, that at least some hopes might be entertained that the house would be spared the painful necessity of proceeding further—a wish that was re-

echoed from the house itself by all parts of the kingdom.

The question was then put and carried.

In the House of Lords, however, very different proceedings took place, which will be perused with [peculiar interest, and the whole of which deserves to be recorded as a proof of the anxious disposition of Parliament to devise every means by which an exposure so injurious to the peace and happiness of the illustrious parties, and to the general tranquillity of the country, could be avoided.

On the same evening that Lord Castlereagh moved the adjournment in consequence of her majesty's communication, Lord Liverpool in the House of Lords moved the order of the day for proceeding to ballot for a Secret Committee, pursuant to the vote of the preceding night.

The Clerks were about to hand about the balloting glasses, when

Lord Kenyon rose. Agreeing, his lordship said, as he did, in the vote of last night, and agreeing as he still did, in the propriety of that vote, he notwithstanding thought, from what had since occurred in the House of Commons, that there arose, if not a hope, at least a possibility of conciliation; and that thus the calamitous consequences of such an investigation might be avoided. A noble lord on the other side, from the expression of his countenance, seemed to accuse him (*Lord Kenyon*) of inconsistency; but he could

assure that noble lord, that he could not charge himself with the slightest inconsistency. He agreed in the vote of last night, because he thought it was the only course the house could, under the circumstances, adopt, consistently with the respect due to the parties to whom the message referred; but considering, as he he did, that the House of Commons had postponed coming to any vote, upon the ground of the possibility of conciliation—considering also, that it was due to the morals of the country to prevent, if possible, any disclosures that might tend to injure them—considering likewise, that in the present state of the public mind, it was most essential to avoid, as far as possible, any thing that might tend to increase its irritation—and considering that they ought to avert, by every means in their power, all that danger and calamity which such an investigation might produce, he thought it would be most advisable, in order to afford an opportunity for the possibility at least of conciliation; and with that view he proposed to postpone the ballot till Monday.

The Earl of Liverpool—My lords, with reference to what had been said by my noble friend, I think it necessary to state, that no circumstance has been communicated to me, nor have I any information to authorize me in holding out any prospect of conciliation. Far be it from me, however, to negative so desirable an object, which must be the wish of every man who at all con-

siders the subject ; but what I object to is, that nothing has been stated sufficient to induce this house to recede from its vote of last night, by not proceeding to the ballot. Let us proceed to the ballot, and then it will be perfectly consistent with the regularity of our proceedings to postpone the meeting of the Committee for a few days, in order that an opportunity may be given for the possibility of conciliation, if such is the wish of the house. I should therefore propose, after the ballot has taken place, that the meeting of the Committee should be postponed till Tuesday.

The Marquis of Lansdown—One thing is certain, my lords, that we came to a vote last night of which all that has since happened tends to render very doubtful the propriety. It now appears that even the opinion of the noble earl at the head of his majesty's government ought not to be taken as to what course the House of Commons may be likely to adopt, for we see that, instead of coming to a decision, they have postponed it ; and when it is stated that this postponement has taken place upon the ground of the possibility of conciliation, what becomes of the argument of the noble earl opposite, that this ought to be a cotemporaneous proceeding in both houses when he now objects to the motion of the noble baron for postponement, founded upon that very ground of the possibility of conciliation ? Disagreeing, as I did last night, in the vote of the house, and being still of opinion that it would

have been much the better course to have abstained from any proceeding under the circumstances in which the question was brought before us, I certainly feel that the motion of the noble baron is now the best course we can adopt, inasmuch as the wisest policy will be for us to retrace our steps. I shall, therefore, give my vote for the motion of the noble baron, or if that should be negatived by the house, I shall be ready to support any other proposition that may tend to a similar effect.

Lord Kenyon—My lords, I have heard nothing to convince me that I ought not to persist in the motion which I have brought forward for postponing the ballot. The noble marquis, on the other side, seems, from his manner, still to accuse me of inconsistency.

The Marquis of Lansdown assured the noble lord that he had not indicated, in the slightest degree, any charge of that nature against the noble lord—the smile on his countenance had no reference whatever to the subject in discussion.

Lord Kenyon—My lords, the reason I prefer the course I have suggested to that proposed by my noble friend, is, that it would be much more respectful and delicate to postpone the ballot, and thereby leave the question completely open for that possibility of conciliation which every one hopes may be converted into a certainty, than to appoint the Committee, and thereby, as it were, take a step towards commencing the investiga-

tion. Every consideration, in my mind, of delicacy, of propriety, of a desire to avoid the most unpleasant and injurious consequences, leads to the conclusion that an opening should be left for the hope or the possibility of conciliation, which can best be done by postponing the ballot ; and therefore, though I shall not press the house to a division, yet if a division is called for, I shall, of course, vote for my own motion.

The Earl of Lauderdale—My lords, I must say, that what was alleged by the noble lord, as to the conduct of the House of Commons being a reason for this house postponing the ballot, was (though I did not chuse to interrupt the noble lord) most disorderly. It is not for us to be swayed by what is done in any other House of Parliament ; we are only to look to our own proceedings : and most assuredly the dignity of the house requires that we should go on with that proceeding which, after due deliberation, has been voted. Whatever may have been my sentiments as to the propriety of that proceeding, I am decidedly of opinion that, it being the vote of the house, it would be most inconsistent with its dignity now to reverse that proceeding ; or to refuse to follow it up by the regular consequent step of the appointment of a Committee.

Lord Holland—My lords, I am sorry to differ from my noble friend who has just sat down ; but I must decidedly object to his notions of dignity, as being that which ought upon this occasion to

influence the decision of the house. True dignity consists in acknowledging an error, if we have committed one, and in endeavouring to retrieve our steps, if we have gone wrong; nor can I conceive any more erroneous notion of dignity than that which leads us to persevere in error, merely because we had so decided. This would be verifying the old proverb—

“The man who once loses his way,

“The farther he walks the more he is astray,”

Let us not follow so erroneous a course; let us at once retrace our steps, and shew a true dignity by that species of conduct. There is one consideration of great importance, that ought to weigh with your lordships in postponing this ballot. I have seen it stated, that somewhere or other (for I will not call down an attack from my noble friend for being disorderly) one of his majesty's ministers stated that this investigation might terminate in impeachment. The noble earl shakes his head, but I defy him to disprove that I have heard it said so; and if there be any possibility of such a termination of this investigation in the House of Commons, it is of the greatest importance that we should keep ourselves free from any knowledge of that evidence which ought only to come before us in the course of a public trial. I certainly, therefore, shall support the motion of the noble lord opposite, which tends to retrace those steps which, in my opinion, have been errone-

ously adopted ; for whatever may be said in this house, it is impossible for us to anticipate what may be the ultimate decision of the House of Commons.

The Earl of Liverpool—My lords, it becomes necessary for me to say a few words, as to the argument attributed to me of a cotemporaneous proceeding of both houses. I certainly never meant to state that this house ought to regulate its proceedings by the proceedings of the House of Commons. All I meant was, that so far as his majesty's government were concerned, it was thought the most advisable course to make the message a cotemporaneous proceeding in both houses ; but certainly no reason exists why we should delay proceeding to ballot for a Committee, which is in fact only a part of the proceeding of last night. The subsequent postponement of the meeting of the committee, for whatever motive of convenience, is a totally different question.

The Earl of Carnarvon supported the motion of Lord Kenyon, contending, that, practically, that and the proposition of the Earl of Liverpool came to the same point, as, if the committee were ballotted for on Monday, they could meet on Tuesday as proposed by the latter.

The Earl of Darnley also supported the motion of Lord Kenyon, and intimated his intention of taking the sense of the house upon it.

Lord Erskine—My lords, as my noble friend below me informs me that he shall divide the

house upon the question, I must trouble your lordships, contrary to my intention, with a very few words. If the ballot had been only objected to, both yesterday and to-day, on the ground that delay was advisable, I should consider it as a matter of the most perfect indifference whether we delayed balloting, or the sitting of the committee to be appointed; but the ballot was resisted, and with great ability and eloquence, on the ground that the proceeding under it would be highly unconstitutional—a proposition to which I can by no means agree. It has been stated, that if we proceed cotemporaneously with the House of Commons, we shall be placed in a situation which would disqualify us from trying an impeachment, if the commons should impeach. But in the case before us there can be no reason to presume that such proceeding will take place. The case is shortly this:—Evil reports respecting the conduct of the queen beyond the seas (which I sincerely hope, on investigation, will prove groundless), called upon his majesty nevertheless to notice them. The king, by his accession does not forfeit the rights of a private man, though his situation is changed. He cannot proceed for such a private wrong like a private man, but as his consort is a public person, representing the nation as well as himself, he must proceed through the public councils; and in a case of great and painful necessity he has applied to both houses of parliament for advice. That act of his majesty

negatives every idea of an impeachment, and shews that what he seeks is a legislative inquiry, and an act of parliament, if unfortunately it should be necessary ; because we ought not to presume the king asks us to put ourselves in a situation disqualifying us for what might afterwards be our duty, which I agree would be the case if we were now to examine the evidence, and afterwards to sit in judgment upon it under an impeachment. It is certainly true that the House of Commons might proceed against the queen by impeachment, though not at the instance and even against the consent of the king, who had bound himself to act in another manner by his message to both houses ; but can any supposition be more preposterous ? The highest wrong, if any has been committed, is to the king ; and it is only from the queen consort's situation, as it respects the public, that makes her infidelity a crime at all, and it cannot therefore be believed that, except at the instance of the king, an impeachment could take place ; more especially when his majesty had selected another mode of recovering for the public and himself the same measure of justice by a bill, if unfortunately necessary, beginning in either House of Parliament, each being at liberty to reject the opinion of the other. On that ground, I can feel no objection to the ballot which we consented to last night. We have acted as we ought to do, and we have no steps to retrace. I should be, of all mankind, the most inexcusable, if, con-



MR. ALDERMAN WOOD, M. P.

to the principles in which I have been bred
and on which I have uniformly acted. I should
consent to pervert this high tribunal by consent-
ing to its being so used and judge. But that can
not be our condition because, after having been
placed in that situation by the opinions pro-
fessed, we must stand against the kind of
sent we might receive to try her. My belief
is accordingly that we will be exposed to
against that of our friends, and I will
respond, and will not be so easily acted
on by them. I have heard of a situation
rather than of a person, and I am very
satisfied as to the result of the whole
case. I have not heard of any of my opinions
being changed. I have heard of a person
being changed of these things, but I do not
think we are in a position to be changed
they were in a position to be changed
and created a new system of thought
is the result of the people, but it is not
impossible that no community could be
and what cases that ever existed, in fact
not a single case. I have heard of a
person. We were to receive a statement, and
that proceeding was to be adopted, and it
is not now, and I think that that is
the result of the whole, the character of the
person would be completely altered, and
could be changed, if we should arrive at a
conclusion in a public investigation, and we
would be able to draw out the

trary to the principles in which I have been bred and on which I have uniformly acted, I should consent to pervert this high tribunal, by consenting to its being accuser and judge. But that cannot be our condition, because, after having been placed in that situation by the commons proceeding to impeach the queen against the king's consent, we might refuse to try her. My lords, I dare scarcely trust myself to express an opinion against that of my noble friends, whom I so highly respect, and with whom I have always acted in parliament. I agree to the law and constitution as they have ably asserted them, but I deny our situation as they assume it. As to secret committees, I have not changed any of my opinions concerning them. No man in this house has complained of them more warmly, because I thought they were inapplicable to public acts of commotion, and created a great jealousy on that account in the minds of the people; but is it possible to maintain that no committee ought to be secret, and what case that ever existed could, in tenderness to the illustrious person, so loudly call for secrecy? We were to enquire whether any, and what proceeding was to be adopted, and if, as I sincerely hope, we should find that there ought to be no proceeding whatever, the character of the queen would be completely restored and vindicated; whereas, if we should arrive at the same conclusion by a public investigation, a sting would remain that never could be drawn out. There

might then be differences of opinion, and malignity might invent them—and if we say there should be a proceeding, it would then be a public proceeding. As to the cause of the delay, I know nothing of it. The House of Commons has expressed no difference of opinion from any delivered in this house. It was perfectly notorious that there had been a negotiation to avert so painful and afflicting an inquiry, which had only been frustrated by her majesty's arrival, and by her own acts, as I have heard them represented; and if these acts are likely to be reconsidered, humanity, honour, and justice, ought to unite in rendering them practicable: and if, therefore, when Tuesday came, a glimpse of hope shall remain that the whole proceeding might be averted, another adjournment might take place; but after the ground on which the ballot was originally resisted, I cannot consent to say that we were in the wrong in adopting it, when I feel we were perfectly in the right.

The Earl of Rosslyn said, he had not heard a word from any noble lord tending to discountenance any proceeding which the house might think proper to adopt much less to refuse to his majesty any remedy which the nature of the case might require. The argument of yesterday was an attempt to persuade the house not to place itself in the difficult situation of appearing, in the slightest manner, and by the smallest number of its members, to prejudge a case, which might by

possibility be afterwards submitted to its decision. It was of the utmost importance, that the judicature of the house should not only be pure, but have the appearance of purity in all respects, and for that purpose some additional delay was recommended. But he had not heard one word from his noble friends recommending that they should retrace their steps. Circumstances had since arisen, which led to a hope that Parliament might be spared the painful necessity of discussion or public examination into so disagreeable a subject. It was agreed upon all hands, that a short delay was not objectionable, so that the only question was, as to the conveniency of their own proceedings. For his own part, he had no difficulty in concurring with the noble earl opposite, as most consistent with the dignity of the house. They would stand in a better situation by suspending all proceedings, after the appointment of a committee, until Tuesday next, leaving it open to consideration upon that day, whether a further suspension might not be expedient, than if they were to force the committee to sit, and perhaps find themselves afterwards under the necessity of rescinding their own order. He hoped most sincerely that some understanding would take place in the mean time, to prevent the painful subject from being brought before them. At all events the course which was best calculated to give an opportunity for such an understanding was, that which was most respectful to

the sovereign, to the illustrious person, and to the public, the most likely to be practically useful, and certainly the most consistent with their own dignity and honour.

Lord Ellenborough thought it was a matter of perfect indifference which of the two courses were adopted; it was equally consistent with the dignity of the house, whether they adjourned the appointment of the committee, or having appointed, adjourned the committee itself. He would prefer the immediate appointment of the committee, with an order that it should sit on Saturday, because if any success was to be expected from the negotiation, it could only be obtained by shewing a determination on their part to persist in the discharge of their duty. This was the way to shorten the negotiation, and if there was any success to be expected, it must be from that alone.

The Earl of Donoughmore thought that the speeches of his noble friends referred so much to the proceedings of another place, they had the appearance of members transferred from one house of parliament to another. The manner in which they had taken up the business, looked as if that house had debated on an adjournment, for all the arguments they had now heard, had been urged last night, and the only new argument attempted now, with a view to persuade the house to alter its proceedings, was the course which the matter had taken in another place. He did not

think it was material to quarrel for a day, or even a week, while a hope of adjustment remained. Every one must wish that the business should be settled on a decent, agreeable, and constitutional footing, in a manner satisfactory to the feelings of the illustrious persons concerned, and to the feelings of all persons in the country who had any feelings at all. The argument of his noble friends which alluded to what had passed in another place, was unbecoming the dignity of that house, as well as unparliamentary; it amounted to a proposal for truckling and bowing down to the other house of parliament, to recommend that they should retrace their steps, and put a stop to all proceedings, because the other house had not come to an immediate decision; and this too, on the most important question that had taken place for ages past, considering the parties concerned. The house would forget its duty to itself, its duty to the subject of discussion, to the public, and to the high personages interested, if it consented to reverse what it had done last night, merely because the other house had not come to a decision.

The Marquis of Lansdown wished to say a few words in explanation, and especially for the purpose of rescuing his noble friend (Lord Holland) and himself from the reproach of his noble friend who had just sat down. He hoped the house would excuse him for trespassing a little beyond the usual time allowed for explanation, as they must

feel that he and his noble friends had reason to feel a great anxiety that their opinions upon every part of the course of those proceedings should be completely understood, and not completely mistaken, as they had been that night. His noble friend (Lord Donoughmore) had said, that their object was to change the course of proceeding adopted by the house last night. Neither he, nor his noble friend, nor any noble lord who had spoken, had recommended or insinuated any such thing. They certainly agreed with the noble baron on the other side, in thinking that the proceedings ought to be suspended in a particular way, but the noble earl (Liverpool) agreed also in the propriety of a suspension, though he wished to effect it in another way. It was not to the proceeding of last night that they had addressed their observations, but to the two modes proposed by the noble baron, and the noble earl who sat before him, both of whom were impressed with the necessity of suspending in some measure, the course of proceeding which was adopted last night. What he had argued was, that it would be more for the true dignity of the house to suspend it altogether, acknowledging the precipitancy of the step, than to proceed with a kind of mock dignity, making believe that they were going to do what they did not intend to do, and holding out a deception to themselves and to the public, which the next moment they might be obliged to do away. Such was the ground of his argument,

and he wished his noble friend who had misunderstood him, as much as it was possible for one man to misunderstand another, would now understand him distinctly.

The house then proceeded to a division, on which the numbers were

Contents, Present	82	
Proxies	26	
	—	108
Not Contents, Present	26	
Proxies	3	
	—	29
		—
Majority	79	

The house then proceeded to ballot for a committee, when the following members were chosen:

The Archbishop of Canterbury	The Earl of Liverpool
The Lord Chancellor	The Earl of Beauchamp
The Lord President	Lord Viscount Sidmouth
The Duke of Beaufort	The Bishop of London
The Duke of Northumberland	Lord Redesdale
The Marquis of Lansdown	Lord Erskine
The Marquis of Buckingham	The Earl of Lauderdale.

The committee was ordered to sit on the Tuesday following, after which the house adjourned.

Lord Holland afterwards gave notice that he would on Monday next move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act of the 12th of George III., affecting the marriages of the royal family. His lordship intimated that his motive for this early introduction of so important a measure, had a

reference to the present unfortunate differences existing between certain members of the royal family. He thought that it might suggest some practicable legislative measure, divested of a penal character, which might have the effect of relieving the secret committee appointed to sit on Tuesday of the most painful part of the duty which the house had imposed upon them. He said, that in his view of the case, the measure at which he pointed might possibly relieve both the parties from the unpleasant situation in which they had long been placed, without any disparagement or depression of the honour and character of either: he added, that he acted in this case, without the knowledge of, or concert with, any person enjoying the confidence of the illustrious characters to whom his proposition applied, the grounds of which he would fully disclose on Monday, if in the mean time some arrangement did not render it unnecessary, in which case he would defer the motion to a later day; for, independently of any particular case, he had strong reasons for thinking that the act in question ought to be expunged from the statute book.

On Saturday the 10th, at an early hour in the morning, Messrs. Brougham and Denman waited upon her majesty, and had a consultation which lasted about an hour. About one, the following communication was made to Mr. Brougham from the Earl of Liverpool, in consequence of which Mr. Brougham sent a message to Mr. Denman,

then in the Court of King's Bench, and a long conference took place between them in one of the chambers of the Court of Exchequer. The learned gentlemen immediately afterwards proceeded to Portman-street, where they had an audience of the queen, which lasted until nearly five o'clock.

The communication from Lord Liverpool was in answer to that made by her majesty on the preceding day :

Lord Liverpool has had the honour of receiving the queen's communication of this day, and begs leave to acquaint her majesty that a memorandum delivered by Lord Liverpool to Mr. Brougham on the 15th of April last, contains the propositions which Lord Liverpool was commanded by the king to communicate through Mr. Brougham to her majesty.

Her majesty has not been advised to return any answer to those propositions, but Lord Liverpool assures her majesty that the king's servants will still think it their duty, notwithstanding all that has passed, to receive for consideration any suggestions which her majesty or her advisers may have to offer upon those propositions.

Fife-house, June 9, 1820.

The memorandum mentioned by Lord Liverpool is as follows, and who that possesses the slightest knowledge of the character of the queen, could suppose that she could for a moment listen to such proposals, much less agree to them. She would thereby stand literally shorn of all her honours, and they who had hitherto only ventured to pronounce upon her guilt, would in her acceptance of them had read a confirmation of it.

The act of the 54th George III. cap. 160, recognised the separation of the Prince Regent from the Princess of Wales, and allotted a separate provision for the princess. This provision was to continue during the life of his late majesty, and to determine at his demise. In consequence of that event, it has altogether ceased, and no provision can be made for her until it shall please his majesty to recommend to Parliament an arrangement for that purpose.

The king is willing to recommend to Parliament to enable his majesty to settle an annuity of 50,000*l.* a-year upon the queen, to be enjoyed by her during her natural life, and in lieu of any claim in the nature of jointure or otherwise, provided she will engage not to come into any part of the British dominions, and provided she engages to take some other name or title than that of queen, and not to exercise any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than with respect to the appointment of law officers, or to any proceedings in courts of justice.

The annuity to cease upon the violation of those engagements, *viz.* upon her coming into any part of the British dominions, or her assuming the title of queen, or her exercising any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than above excepted, after the annuity shall have been settled upon her.

Upon her consent to an engagement on the above conditions, Mr. Brougham is desired to obtain a declaration to this effect, signed by herself; and at the same time a full authority to conclude with such person as his majesty may appoint, a formal engagement upon those principles.

April 15, 1820.

Her majesty lost no time in replying to Lord Liverpool, for on the subsequent day the following communication was made :

The queen commands Mr. Brougham to inform Lord

Liverpool, that she has received his letter, and that the memorandum of April 15, 1820, which the proposition made through Lord Hutchinson had appeared to supersede, has also been now submitted to her majesty for the first time.

Her majesty does not consider the terms there specified as at all according with the condition upon which she informed Lord Liverpool yesterday that she would entertain a proposal, namely, that it should be consistent with her dignity and honour. At the same time she is willing to acquit those who made this proposal, of intending any thing offensive to her majesty; and Lord Liverpool's letter indicates a disposition to receive any suggestions which she may offer.

Her majesty retains the same desire which she commanded Mr. Brougham yesterday to express, of submitting her own wishes to the authority of parliament, now so decisively interposed. Still acting upon the same principle, she now commands Mr. Brougham to add, that she feels it necessary, before making any further proposal, to have it understood that the recognition of her rank and privileges as queen, must be the basis of any arrangement which can be made. The moment that basis is established, her majesty will be ready to suggest a method by which she conceives all existing differences may be satisfactorily adjusted.

10th June, 1820.

On Sunday morning the 11th, Divine Service was performed to the queen, at her majesty's small residence in Portman-street, at ten o'clock, by the Rev. George Adam Brown, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Brown read the Liturgy as prescribed by the Privy Council, omitting the name of her majesty. It may not be unworthy of remark, how very applicable to her majesty's situa-

tion, are the Psalms of that day, the 11th of the month :—

PSALM LVI. *Miserere mei, Deus.*

1. Be merciful unto me, O God, for man goeth about to devour me : he is daily fighting, and troubling me.

2. Mine enemies are daily in hand to swallow me up : for they be many that fight against me, O thou most Highest.

3. Nevertheless, though I am sometime afraid : yet put I my trust in thee.

4. I will praise God, because of his word : I have put my trust in God, and will not fear what flesh can do unto me.

5. They daily mistake my words : all that they imagine is to do me evil.

6. They hold all together, and keep themselves close : and mark my steps, when they lay wait for my soul.

7. Shall they escape from their wickedness : thou, O God, in thy displeasure shall cast them down.

8. Thou tellest my flittings ; put my tears into thy bottle : are not these things noted in thy book ?

9. Whosoever I call upon thee, then shall my enemies be put to flight : this I know ; for God is on my side.

10. In God's word will I rejoice ; in the Lord's word will I comfort me.

11. Yea, in God have I put my trust : I will not be afraid what man can do unto me.

The following are impressive verses out of the Psalm which follows :—

1. Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me, for my soul trusteth in thee : and under the shadow of thy wings shall be my refuge, until this tyranny be overpast.

3. He shall send from Heaven, and save me from the reproof of him that would eat me up.

7. They have laid a net for my feet, and pressed down my soul: they have digged a pit before me, and are fallen into the midst of it themselves.

In the course of the same day, the following communication from Lord Liverpool was received by her majesty:—

Lord Liverpool has had the honour of receiving the queen's communication, and cannot refrain from expressing the extreme surprise of the king's servants that the memorandum of April 15th, the only proposition to her majesty which ever was authorized by his majesty, should not have been submitted to her majesty until yesterday.

That memorandum contains so full a communication of the intentions and views of the king's government with respect to the queen, as to have entitled his majesty's servants to an equally frank, full, and candid explanation on the part of her majesty's advisers.

The memorandum of the 15th April, while it proposed that her majesty should abstain from the exercise of the rights and privileges of queen with certain exceptions, did not call upon her majesty to renounce any of them.

Whatever appertains to her majesty by law, as queen, must continue to appertain to her so long as it is not abrogated by law.

The king's servants in expressing their readiness to receive the suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment which her majesty's advisers promise, think it right, in order to save time, distinctly to state that any proposition which they could feel it to be consistent with their duty to recommend to his majesty, must have for its basis her majesty's residence abroad.

11th June, 1820.

To which her majesty returned the following:—

The queen commands Mr. Brougham to acknowledge having received Lord Liverpool's note of last night, and to inform his lordship that her majesty takes it for granted that the memorandum of April 15, was not submitted to her before Saturday, only because her legal advisers had no opportunity of seeing her majesty until Lord Hutchinson was on the spot prepared to treat with her.

Her majesty commands Mr. Brougham to state, that as the basis of her recognition as queen is admitted by the king's government, and as his majesty's servants express their readiness to receive any suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment, her majesty, still acting upon the same principles which have always guided her conduct, will now point out a method by which it appears to her that the object in contemplation may be obtained.

Her majesty's dignity and honour being secured, she regards all other matters as of comparatively little importance, and is willing to leave every thing to the decision of any person or persons, of high station and character, whom both parties may concur in naming, and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income, subject of course to the approbation of parliament.

12th June, 1820.

On 14th June, agreeable to a requisition most respectably signed and presented to the Lord Mayor, a Court of Common Council was held, for the purpose of presenting a congratulatory address to her Majesty, Queen Caroline, on her arrival in this country. There was a great number of members present, and the bar was crowded to excess with strangers anxious to hear the discussion.

At a quarter past eleven the Lord Mayor took

the chair. After some unimportant business had been disposed of, his lordship rose, and observed, that when the requisition calling this meeting had been signed and agreed to, it was done under the expectation that ere this some arrangements would have been entered into, by which the unfortunate disputes existing between two illustrious individuals might have been amicably settled. As that had not taken place, he was sure that every one would see the necessity of observing the strictest propriety of expression in alluding to the situation in which those individuals were placed. He implored both parties not to suffer themselves to be hurried into any intemperate warmth of debate.

Mr. Favell then rose, and after disclaiming any wish or intention, in what might fall from him, to impede the arrangements which it was contemplated might still take place, but, on the contrary, expressing his sincere desire to accelerate them, moved that the requisition calling the meeting be read.

The requisition was then read by the Common Serjeant.

On the motion of *Mr. Favell*, the minutes of the last address to the Princess of Wales were also read.

Mr. Favell again rose to move, that "a loyal address of condolence and congratulation be presented to her Majesty Queen Caroline, upon her arrival in England."

After some very pertinent remarks upon the peculiar situation of the queen, and the indignities which had been offered, the worthy member concluded by moving the address.

Mr. James Williams seconded the motion.

Sir W. Curtis observed, that there had been a wish strongly and generally expressed by men of all parties, that this most important question should be treated with the greatest possible delicacy. Nobody could doubt the title of the queen. She was Queen of England, and must be queen; but while he deeply regretted the unhappy differences between the illustrious individuals, he thought that the less that was said, would be so much the better. He therefore would say no more than merely to move the previous question.

This was seconded by Mr. James, on which an interesting debate took place, when the question being put, the numbers were, for the previous question—The Lord Mayor, 5 Aldermen, and 18 Commoners, with 2 Tellers—Total 26.

Against it, 3 Aldermen, 103 Commoners, with 2 Tellers—Total 108. Majority 82.

Whilst these proceedings were carried on in the city, circumstances of a very important nature took place, not only in both houses of the legislature, but also between her majesty's legal advisers and the ministers of the crown. In the House of Lords, Lord Liverpool rose and observed, their lordships were aware that their secret committee was last ordered to commence its pro-

ceedings to-morrow, an order which had been made, not in consequence of negotiations which were then depending, but of hopes which seemed to be generally entertained that circumstances might supersede the necessity of its sitting for the proposed purpose. He had no difficulty in communicating to the house, that some communications had been received and explanations taken place (though he must reserve himself at present as to their nature and extent), which certainly formed a medium to render a further adjournment of the sitting of their lordships' committee desirable. Under these circumstances, he would move that the order for the committee sitting on the 15th be discharged, and an order made for its sitting on the 17th. Before he sat down he begged leave to state that copies of certain important documents which had been communicated on this occasion, were not only fabricated for publication, but in a way grossly false, and by some persons who must have seen the originals. He felt himself called upon in justice to make this declaration, and to add that it was voluntarily communicated on the part of the legal advisers of the queen, that they were no parties whatever to such publications, which no persons regretted more than themselves. The noble minister then formally moved as above.

In the House of Commons, the same evening, Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for

the resumed consideration of his majesty's message, for the purpose of postponing the discussion.

The order being read—

His lordship said, he trusted the house would feel that it would be unbecoming in him to state any thing that had passed between the illustrious parties concerned in the negotiation which induced him to propose this course. He should, therefore, abstain entirely from remark, and begged only to express a hope that they would keep themselves and their impressions in the same way as they were on a former night, till a full explanation of all circumstances could be given. He would suggest the postponement of the order till Friday, as the most convenient day; Thursday being appointed for a drawing-room, on which occasion it was usual to adjourn, that gentlemen might attend the court. He had thought it better to name at once the latter day, than to keep the question in suspense by postponements, and was sure the house would coincide with him that the earliest possible period should be taken to bring it finally before them.

On the question that the papers be referred to a secret committee, &c.

Sir M. W. Ridley rose, and declared that it was not his intention to transgress the bounds within which the noble lord had requested them to keep this evening. But he was desirous of expressing his most anxious hope that every indi-

vidual, both in the house and out of it, would evince a disposition to forward the views of the noble lord, and would abstain from such observations or statements as were calculated to do injury to the cause of either of the illustrious parties, while these negotiations were pending. By not giving publicity to documents, whether genuine or garbled, and by refraining from argument on what had already been promulgated, this desirable issue would be most likely to result: and he need only say, to shew the danger of such publications, that they were calculated to excite prejudice in the public mind, and irritation where it were better avoided. He hoped he had not trespassed on the house, but could not neglect these matters when he considered how much unanimity was to be coveted.

Mr. Brougham concurred in the motion of the noble lord, and with the honourable gentleman, from whose earnest recommendation he had derived the utmost satisfaction. He could assure the house, on his solemn assertion, that the illustrious person and her legal advisers had no other sentiment but that of the most scrupulous concealment. They desired that no disclosures should be made; indeed he had seen nothing disclosed that was at all analogous to truth—nothing like the real facts. If any thing of that sort had transpired, it must either have been through incredible indiscretion, or a most unpardonable breach of confidence. The queen, he must at the same time state, was accommodated in a way which pre-

sented favourable means of access to officious intruders, more than if her residence were better suited to her station.

Lord Castlereagh, consistent with the spirit in which he had brought forward his motion, could not enter into the subject of accommodation; from which, in his opinion, under all circumstances, the learned gentleman could have done as well to abstain. For himself, he would give no sincerer pledge of his intention, than by passing over in silence that which appeared to be unnecessary.

Mr. Brougham assured the noble lord he meant nothing offensive by alluding to the queen's present accommodation. He knew that she had had offers of a more suitable residence, and of money to any amount; but he merely mentioned it to shew that her situation was more liable to intrusion, and to the propagation of disclosures, than it might otherwise have been. His allusion was purely accidental.

The motion for postponement till Friday was then put, and agreed to.

Thus a further delay was allowed to the pending negotiation between the king and queen, and what is of greater consequence, the delay was required and proposed by those who in the first instance said that all attempts to negotiate were useless, and who really declined availing themselves of the time at first allowed for offering their propositions, and secondly, that they had no offer to make. These facts are stated from a sincere desire to promote the public good. We entreat

those who blacken and and exaggerate the imperfections of the house, and attempt to decry its utility under the present system, to consider that it is this House of Commons, so slandered and depreciated, which has through the instrumentality of its most respectable members, quietly and unostentatiously imposed upon ministers the necessity of wholly altering their plan, and treating the queen in some degree as Queen of England ought to be treated.

On the 14th, Mr. Brougham transmitted the following note to Lord Liverpool :

Mr. Brougham presents his compliments to Lord Liverpool, and begs leave to inform him, that he has received the queen's commands to name two persons to meet the two whom his lordship may name on the part of his majesty's government, for the purpose of settling an arrangement. Mr. Brougham hopes to be favoured with Lord Liverpool's nomination this evening, in order that an early appointment for a meeting to-morrow may take place.

14th June, 1820.

In consequence of this arrangement Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, on the part of the king, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, on the part of the queen, met at the house of Lord Castlereagh in St. James's-square; and, in order to facilitate the proposed personal discussions, it was suggested by the former

1st. That the persons named to frame an arrangement, although representing different interests, should consider themselves in discharge of this duty, not as opposed to each

other, but as acting in concert with a view to frame an arrangement in compliance with the understood wish of Parliament, which may avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two houses.

2. The arrangement to be made must be of such a nature as to require from neither party any concession as to the result to which such inquiry, if proceeded on, might lead. The queen must not be understood to *admit*, or the king to *retract*, any thing.

3d. That in order the better to accomplish the above important object, it was proposed, that whatever might pass in the first conference should pledge neither party to any opinion; that nothing should be recorded without previous communication, and, as far as possible, common consent; and, that in order to facilitate explanation, and to encourage unreserved discussion, the substance only of what passed should be reported.

These preliminary points being agreed to, the questions to be examined (as contained in Lord Liverpool's memorandum of the 15th April 1820, delivered to Mr. Brougham previous to his proceeding to St. Omer's, and in Lord Liverpool's note of the 11th of June, and Mr. Brougham's note of the 12th of June, written by the queen's commands) were

1st. The future residence of the queen abroad.

2d. The title which her majesty might think fit to assume when travelling on the Continent.

3d. The non-exercise of certain rights of patronage in England, which it might be desirable that her majesty might desist from exercising should she reside abroad; and,

4th. The suitable income to be assigned for life to the queen residing abroad.

Her majesty's law officers, on the part of the

queen, desired in the first instance, that the fourth point should be altogether laid aside in these conferences; her majesty desired it might make no part of the conditions, nor be mixed with the present discussions. They then proceeded to state, that under all the circumstances of her majesty's position, they would not say that her majesty had any insuperable objection to living abroad; on the contrary, if such foreign residence were deemed indispensable to the completion of an arrangement so much desired by Parliament, her majesty might be prevailed upon to acquiesce; but then that certain steps must be taken to remove the possibility of any inference being drawn from such compliance, and from the inquiry not being proceeded in, unfavourable to her majesty's honour, and inconsistent with that recognition which is the basis of these negotiations; and her majesty's advisers suggested with this view, the restoration of her name to the liturgy. To this it was replied, that the king's government would no doubt learn with great surprise that a question of this important nature had now been brought forward for the first time, without having been adverted to in any of the previous discussions, and without being included amongst the heads to be now treated of; that the liturgy had been already regulated by his majesty's formal declaration in council, and in the exercise of his majesty's legal authority; that the king in yielding his own feelings and views to the

wishes of Parliament, could not be understood (in the absence of inquiry) to alter any of those impressions under which his majesty had hitherto deliberately and advisedly acted; and, that as it was at the outset stated, that the king could not be expected to retract any thing, no hope could be held out that the king's government would feel themselves justified in submitting such a proposition to his majesty. To this it was answered, that although the point of the liturgy was certainly not included by name amongst the heads to be discussed, her majesty's law officers felt themselves entitled to bring it forward in its connection with the question of her majesty's residence abroad. It was further contended, that the alteration in the liturgy was contrary to the plain sense and even letter of the statute, and that it was highly objectionable on constitutional grounds, being contrary to the whole policy of the law respecting the security of the succession, and liable to be repeated in cases where the succession itself might be endangered by it, and therefore it was said that a step so taken might well be retraced, without implying any unworthy concession. It was also urged, that the omission having been plainly made in contemplation of legal or parliamentary proceedings against her majesty, it followed, when these proceedings were to be abandoned, that the omission should be supplied; and it followed for the same reason, that supplying it would imply no retraction. It

was replied, that his majesty had decided that her majesty's name should not be inserted in the liturgy, for several reasons not now necessary to discuss ; that his majesty had acted under legal advice, and in conformity to the practice of his royal predecessors ; and, that the decision of his majesty had not been taken solely with a view to intended proceedings in Parliament, or at law. Independent of the inquiry instituted before Parliament, his majesty had felt himself long since called upon to adopt certain measures to which his majesty, as head of his family and in the exercise of his prerogative, was clearly competent. These acts, together with that now under consideration, however reluctantly adopted, and however painful to his majesty's feelings, were taken upon grounds which the discontinuance of the inquiry before Parliament could not affect, and which his majesty could not therefore be expected to rescind ; the principle, fairly applied, would go in truth no further than to replace the parties in the relative position in which they stood immediately before her majesty's arrival, and before the king's message was sent down to both houses of Parliament. After further discussion upon this point, it was agreed that the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh should report to the Cabinet what had passed, and come prepared with their determination to the next conference. Her majesty's law officers then asked, whether, in the event of the above proposition not being adopted,

any other proceeding could be suggested on the part of his majesty's government, which might render her majesty's residence abroad consistent with the recognition of her rights, and the vindication of her character; and, they specially pointed at the official introduction of her majesty to foreign courts by the king's ministers abroad. Upon this it was observed, that this proposition appeared open to the same difficulty in point of principle; it was calling upon the king to retract the decision formerly taken and avowed on the part of his majesty, (a decision already notified to foreign courts,) and to render the position of his majesty's representatives abroad, in relation to her majesty, inconsistent with that of their sovereign at home:—that the purpose for which this was sought by the queen's advisers was inconsistent with the principle admitted at the commencement of the conference, and was one that could not be reasonably required to be accomplished by the act of his majesty, namely, to give to her majesty's conduct that countenance which the state of the case, as at present before his majesty, altogether precluded. At the same time it was stated, that while his majesty, consistently with the steps already adopted, could not authorize the public reception of the queen, or the introduction of her majesty at foreign courts by his ministers abroad, there was nevertheless every disposition to see that branch of the orders already given faithfully and liberally executed,

which enjoined the British ministers on the Continent to facilitate, within their respective missions, her majesty's accommodation, and to contribute to her personal comfort and convenience. Her majesty's law officers gave the king's servants no reason whatever to think that the queen could be induced to depart from the propositions above stated, unless some others, founded on the same principles, were acceded to on the part of his majesty's government.

(Signed) WELLINGTON. H. BROUGHAM.

CASTLEREAGH. T. DENMAN.

The same day in which this first conference took place, Mr. Sheriff Rothwell and Mr. Sheriff Parkins, attended by the City Remembrancer, waited upon her majesty, at her residence in Portman-street, to know at what time she would be pleased to receive the address of the corporation of London. Her majesty received them very graciously, and appointed one o'clock the following day for the formal receiving the address. Long before the arrival of the sheriffs, a great crowd of respectably-dressed persons, had assembled in front of the house, in expectation of their arrival, and they received them with cheers. The sheriffs were not in the house more than a quarter of an hour, and, as they retired, the crowd, which by this time was greatly increased, again greeted them with applause. Her majesty, at the same moment, appeared in one of the

balconies attached to the windows of the drawing-room. The cheers were instantly renewed with the utmost enthusiasm, accompanied with the clapping of hands and every expression of attachment and respect. The queen appeared sensibly affected by the ardour which was manifested, and, having made three very graceful obeisances, she immediately retired; whilst cries of "God bless you!" "Long live the Queen!" &c., resounded on all sides. The sheriffs' carriages then drove off; and shortly afterwards the greater part of the crowd had dispersed.

Her Majesty was dressed in black silk, with a rich collar of point lace; and wore on her head a black velvet cap, and plume of ostrich feathers.

On the 16th, the lord mayor went up in state to the queen's residence with the address, voted to her majesty by the Common Council, on the preceding Wednesday. Long before the appointed hour, Portman-street was excessively crowded, and every window within view of the queen's residence, was filled with ladies. Even the tops of many houses were occupied; and coaches, carts, and other vehicles, were laden with people. At one o'clock the city procession arrived. It was preceded by the chief marshal, on horseback, in his state uniform, and in every respect was conducted in the same state as is usual in presenting addresses to the throne. The lord mayor's state carriage was followed by the carriages of the Aldermen Wood, Thorp, and

Waithman, the mover and seconder of the address accompanying the latter. Then followed the Sheriffs in their state carriages, the Common Serjeant, the City Remembrancer, &c., and the procession was closed by about fifty private carriages, containing members of the common council. As the carriages drew up to the door, the crowd expressed their feelings towards the the different parties in rather strong terms. The lord mayor, for instance, was received with hisses, which continued till he had entered the house. The Aldermen Wood, Waithman, and Thorp, were greeted with loud cheers, as was Mr. Sheriff Parkins; but Mr. Sheriff Rothwell was received with a most clamorous burst of downright execration. Many of the common council were loudly cheered, and some of them as loudly hooted; in short, there was not a single carriage whose inmates did not receive either praise or blame. Mr. Sheriff Parkins appeared highly delighted by his undiminished popularity.

Her majesty received the Corporation in the front drawing room. She was attended by her ladies, and remained standing whilst the town-clerk, read the following address:

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The dutiful and loyal address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

“ May it please your majesty,

“ We his majesty's ever dutiful and loyal subjects, the

lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, approach your majesty with sincere expressions of loyalty, attachment, and regard.

“ We condole with your majesty on the various afflictions your majesty has sustained since your departure from this country, by the loss of so many illustrious personages of your majesty’s family, especially by the demise of our late beloved sovereign, your majesty’s paternal guardian, whose countenance and support under the most trying circumstances, gave the best pledge to the nation of your majesty’s innocence and the firmest protection against all your enemies; and also that of your amiable and illustrious daughter, the princess Charlotte, the fond hope of Britain, whose memory will be ever dear to an affectionate people.

“ Deeply attached to the royal family, and anxious for the preservation of the public tranquillity, we feel ourselves called upon to express our earnest hope that the differences which unfortunately subsist may be arranged in a manner honourable to your majesty, as well as to your royal consort, and satisfactorily to the country; and that should an investigation of these differences be still unhappily resorted to, recognizing the dignified firmness which your majesty has manifested, by the solemn protest you have entered against all secret investigation of your conduct, so repugnant to common justice and to the feelings of Englishmen, we trust such investigation will be conducted in an open and impartial manner, and terminate in the complete vindication of your majesty’s honour.

“ We rely upon your majesty’s gracious acceptance of this address, as a proof of the loyalty and affection of your faithful citizens of London, and of their attachment to the illustrious house of Brunswick, which, they trust will long

continue to sway the British sceptre, and maintain the liberties and happiness of the people.

Signed, by order of the Court,

"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which her majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

"I return you my heartfelt thanks for this dutiful address, which is both loyal to the king and affectionate to me. If any thing could lessen the grief which I must still feel for the loss of those dear relations, of whom I have been deprived since I left England, it would be the proofs I now receive upon my return, that their memories are cherished, as their virtues deserved.

"In the new trials to which I am exposed, my first duty is to vindicate myself, and my next wish is to see nothing attempted that may hurt the feelings of others.

"But in all the troubles through which I have passed, the generous attachment of the English people has been my safeguard against the king's enemies and my own, and be well assured that no time can ever weaken the grateful impressions of such obligations."

The deputation then passed two and two before her majesty, and in so doing they received her acknowledgements individually. The shouts from the crowds in the street now became very vehement, and her majesty advanced to the window, which being opened, she leaned forward and bowed. She was received with reiterated cheers; but as those persons only immediately in front of the house could obtain a sight of her, much struggling and confusion ensued. Alderman Wood, how-

ever, brought the hearth-rug, and laid it upon the bars, which floored the little balcony, and her majesty immediately stepped forward and bowed most gracefully on all sides, amidst the most enthusiastic cheers, the waving of innumerable handkerchiefs., &c. Her majesty wore a dress of rich peach blossom satin, with a hat of the same material, surmounted by a plume of white ostrich feathers, springing from an aigrette of brilliants. She also wore a superb diamond brooch in form of the plume and coronet of the Princess of Wales. After having bowed repeatedly, her majesty retired, and the Corporation immediately withdrew—the Aldermen Wood, Thorp, and Waithman, and Mr. Sheriff Parkins, being drawn by the populace. It is but right to say, this exhibition did not take place without very considerable resistance on the part of the worthy aldermen.

The lord mayor led the procession through St. Giles's, which created great disappointment to persons who were waiting to greet it by Fleet-street, the Strand, Pall-mall, &c. There was a great concourse, however, in the streets by which it did pass: occasionally a cry was raised against the lord mayor of “What am I to do?” &c.

We will not enter into the merits of the question of the propriety or impropriety of the city address, but we cannot refrain from remarking, that it speaks of a secret investigation, when it must have been well known that no secret inves-

tigation was ever in the contemplation of the ministers of this country. The committee of the House of Lords cannot be called a secret investigation, for it is analogous in every respect to a grand jury. The evidences indeed are not personally before them, but those facts are before them which can be proved by evidence, and which if proved, subject the accused party to the penalties of the act. A strong prejudice exists in this country against all secret committees, but on a broad view of the question, we think the prejudice to be unfounded, and in this opinion we are borne out by that, of one of the most eminent legal authorities in the country, and who is in general by no means inclined to sanction the measures of the present ministry. Nothing, however, is further from the intention of the ministers than a secret investigation; they have openly and most unequivocally declared, that the fullest opportunity shall be given to her majesty to disprove the charges against her by evidence; that power will be given to her legal advisers to examine the evidence against her, and that every advantage shall be offered to her, which the laws of the country allow her. It is also certain, that the ministers, on the supposition that the funds of her majesty might not be adequate to the great expense attendant on bringing her witnesses to England, have declared, that funds for that purpose shall not be withheld from her; and, although some jealousy is very probably excited in regard to

some clauses of the Alien Bill, which will have passed both houses of the Legislature before the second reading of the bill of Pains and Penalties in the House of Lords, as a power is thereby invested in the ministers of removing at pleasure any foreigner out of the country, and consequently her majesty might be deprived of her witnesses; yet, a declaration has been substantively made by the ministers, that the provisions of the Alien Act shall not be put in force against the evidences of her majesty; and it must be acknowledged that justice, which is the basis of English legislature, demanded this declaration from them. For, if the ministers were to exercise the sweeping power with which they are invested, of removing at their pleasure any of the witnesses in favour of her majesty, posterity would determine that the trial of her majesty was a partial one, and that as she was not allowed the evidence of her own witnesses, her guilt if proved would still rest upon presumptive evidence.

We cannot, however, look upon the character of the witnesses which are to be brought against her majesty, without feeling some alarm. An affidavit can be purchased as easily in Italy as a box of vermicelli, and, an Italian will take an oath as to a fact which he never saw, with the greatest indifference and *sang froid*. This evil lies in the absolving religion which he professes. He commits in the most unblushing manner the most barefaced perjury, but he exacts a handsome

sum for it; the act, if his conscience be not pretty well seared, preys rather heavily upon him—he hastens to his priest—confesses the heinous offence which he has committed—puts on a face of contrition—mutter a paternoster—and, having made a transfer of all his sins to the accommodating priest, he departs from the confessional, and mixes again in the world, to perjure himself again on the very first opportunity. Now, to a man of this description, what is the sacred obligation of an oath? If a man's evidence can be purchased, and it is an article of very common sale in Italy, what reliance can be placed upon it? Not that it is meant to say, that the evidence of all the witnesses against her majesty has been purchased, but when intelligence reaches us that certain individuals who gave their evidence before the Milan Commission, were persons of a menial station of life, and that one in particular is now lolling in his carriage, in all the plenitude of his infamy, and invested with the badge of the honourable band of spies and informers, we cannot refrain expressing our surprise at this sudden metamorphosis; and, as an effect is evident, which can only be produced by one cause, we must conclude according to the rules of logic, that that cause does actually exist, or in other words, we must conclude, that a man who has given his evidence on a most important question, and is immediately raised from a state of indigence to that of affluence, has been re-

warded for that evidence ; but, as the circumstance here alluded to will be completely detailed in the course of the momentous trial, we shall abstain from enlarging upon it in the present stage of the proceedings.

The second conference between ministers and her majesty's law officers was held at the Foreign Office on the 16th, and the following was the result :

The king's servants began the conference by stating, that they had not failed to report with fidelity to the king's government, the proposition brought forward by her majesty's law-officers, that the queen's name should be expressly included in the liturgy, in order to protect her majesty against any misconstruction of the grounds on which her majesty might consent to reside abroad ; that they were not deceived, for reasons already sufficiently explained, in anticipating the surprise of their colleagues at the production of this question, for the first time, on the part of her majesty, more especially in the present advanced state of the proceedings ; that they were authorised distinctly to state, that the king's servants could on no account advise his majesty to rescind the decision already taken and acted upon in this instance ; and that to prevent misconception, the king's government had charged the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh to explain that they must equally decline to advise the king to depart from the principle already laid down by his majesty for the direction of his representatives

abroad, with regard to the public reception by the king's ministers abroad, and introduction of her majesty at foreign courts ; but that they were not only ready but desirous to guard in future, by renewed orders, against any possible want of attention to her majesty's comfort and convenience by his majesty's ministers abroad ; and, that wherever her majesty might think fit to establish her residence, every endeavour would be made to secure for her majesty from that state the fullest protection, and the utmost personal comfort, attention, and convenience.

In explanation of the position in which the king actually stood upon this question in his foreign relations, the instructions under which the ministers abroad now acted were communicated to the queen's law officers, and their attention was directed as well to the principles therein laid down, and from which his majesty could not be called upon to depart, as to that breach of the instructions which were studiously framed to provide for the personal comfort and convenience of the queen when Princess of Wales.

The queen's law officers then stated, that they must not be understood to suggest the giving of a general power to her majesty to establish her court in any foreign country, and to be there received and presented by the English minister, because reasons of state might render it inexpedient, that under certain circumstances, such an establishment should be made ; but they wished

that her majesty should have the power of being so received and treated by the English ministers where no such reasons of state interfered; and they inquired whether the same objection would exist to the public introduction of her majesty at some one court where she might fix her residence, if she waved the claim of introduction at foreign courts generally.

To this it was answered, that the principle was in fact, the same whether at one or more courts; and, that if the king could be consistently advised to meet the queen's wishes in this instance at all, it would be more dignified for his majesty to do so generally and avowedly, than to adopt any partial or covert proceeding.

The queen's law officers, referring to the decision of the judges in George the First's reign, said it would be a much more unexceptionable exercise of the royal prerogative, were the king even to prescribe where her majesty should reside, but to order her there to be treated as queen by his minister.

The king's servants, in consequence of what had passed at a former conference, then reverted to the mode in which the queen had arrived in England, and the pain her majesty must experience were she exposed to leave England in the like manner. They acquainted her majesty's law officers that they could venture to assure them that this difficulty would not occur. The queen arrived in England contrary to the king's wishes

and representations ; but were her majesty now to desire to pass to the Continent, whether to a port in the Channel, or if it should more accord with her majesty's views, to proceed at once to the Mediterranean, a king's yacht in the one instance, or a ship of war in the other, might be ordered to convey her majesty.

After receiving these explanations, the queen's law officers recurred to the points before touched upon, *viz.*, the inserting the queen's name in the liturgy, or the devising something in the nature of an equivalent, and intimated their conviction that her majesty would feel it necessary to press one or both of these objects, or some other of a similar nature and tendency. They then asked whether a residence in one of the royal palaces would be secured to her majesty, while in this country ; and observed, that her majesty had never been deprived of her apartments in Kensington-palace, until she voluntarily gave them up for the accommodation of the late Duke of Kent. It was replied, that the king's servants had no instructions on this point. They, however, observed, that they believed the apartments which her majesty formerly occupied when Princess of Wales, were at present actually in the possession of the Duchess of Kent ; and, that they considered that this point had been already disposed of, by supplying to her majesty the funds which were necessary to furnish her majesty a suitable residence.

Her majesty's law officers then inquired whether, supposing an arrangement made, the mode of winding up the transaction and withdrawing the information referred to Parliament had been considered, and whether the king's servants saw any objection in the present instance, to the Houses of Parliament expressing by suitable addresses, both to the king and queen, their grateful thanks for their majesties having acquiesced in an arrangement by which Parliament had been saved the painful duty of so delicate and difficult a proceeding. The king's servants acknowledged this point had not been considered, but reserved to themselves to report the observations made thereon to their colleagues.

It was then agreed, that upon every view of duty and propriety, the final decision should not be protracted beyond Monday, to which day it should be proposed that the proceedings on the king's message in the House of Commons should be adjourned on a distinct explanation to this effect, and that a conference should take place on the following day, in order to bring the business to a conclusion, and to arrange by mutual consent, the protocols of conference.

In consequence of the pending negotiation, the sitting of the committee of the House of Lords was postponed ; as the Earl of Liverpool, on the 16th, moved in the House of Lords, to discharge the order of the day for the sitting of the Secret Committee to investigate the papers laid upon

the table by command of the king. His lordship said, that in postponing the meeting of the Secret Committee, he conceived he had only to state that the same considerations which induced the house to consent to former adjournments still existed. He, therefore, now trusted that the motion would be acceded to.

The Marquis of Lansdowne could not abstain from remarking on the situation of their lordships with regard to the motion of the noble earl. In the first instance they had received a communication from the throne, whereupon a committee of inquiry was nominated, and yet, without any further royal communication, that committee was postponed, and continued so. There might, perhaps, be strong and cogent reasons for this conduct, reasons more strong and more cogent than even the imperative forms of their lordships' house; but, at the same time, if their lordships assented to the motion of the noble earl, which he would not oppose, it must be accorded on a strong understanding of its necessity.

The Earl of Darnley could not avoid a remark on the disgraceful and extraordinary situation of this house, in consequence, he maintained, of their having once been persuaded by his majesty's ministers to wait for the co-operation of the other house. He was, however, not desirous to offer much opposition in the present case, but he certainly did hope that it would operate as a warning to their lordships in future

The Earl of Liverpool said, after what had fallen from the noble marquis on the motion, he had no desire to say another word, as he wished to leave the reasons for postponement to be assigned at a fitter time. But, notwithstanding this reluctance, he could not allow the language of the noble earl to remain quite unanswered. Their lordships would recollect, that, on a former night, he had stated, as a motive for their adjournment, that certain discussions and explanations were going on, which might eventually lead to a desirable conclusion. He then had felt no impropriety in proposing an adjournment of proceeding in this important case; and he now conceived that explanations as to the causes of delay would follow with more propriety at an ulterior stage.

The Earl of Darnley said a few words in explanation; and concluded by hoping that those persons who advised their lordships to defer to the progress of the other house, would be able to justify their conduct to this house.

This was met by almost similar proceedings in the House of Commons, on the same evening.

Lord Castlereagh rose amid cries of *Order!* and said, Sir, I rise for the purpose of moving the order of the day for the consideration of his majesty's most gracious message be further postponed until the 19th. I have to express my regret at this delay, but circumstances have occurred which have rendered it indispensable, both on the part of her majesty's legal advisers, and of his

majesty's government. The house will therefore feel, that pending these circumstances, I am not in a situation to offer any explanation to the house. On every ground we feel this to be a question that ought not to be longer delayed, and on Monday the 19th, we hope to give a full exposition of the state of these important transactions. I have to beg the house will keep themselves and their impressions exactly in the same state as on the night the question was first adjourned.

Mr. Tierney—I do not wish, I am sure, to embarrass a question of so much importance; but I wish to be assured if Monday is the last day to which the adjournment is likely to be extended: Is it to be the last adjournment?

Mr. Brougham—I concur entirely with the noble lord as to the necessity of further delay; but no longer delay, I do assure the house, either has or shall take place than is absolutely required for such important arrangements. I feel the great anxiety that prevails on the subject, and the great delay in the furtherance of the public business, occasioned by the consideration of this momentous affair; but no blame is imputable to either of the parties. It has been the anxious wish of both of them to expedite the business, and beyond the 19th, I see no circumstances that can occur, in the ordinary course of human affairs, to prevent its being ended. I have also to add my hope to that so properly expressed by the noble lord, that the house will keep themselves

exactly in that state in which they separated on the first night of the adjournment.

On the following day the negotiators met at the Foreign Office, and the conference was opened by her majesty's law officers intimating, that, advert ing to what had passed on the preceding conference, they had nothing to propose, but to proceed to the adjustment of the protocol.

The king's servants then stated, that, before they entered into this business of arranging the protocol, they thought it their duty to advert to the points discussed in the preceding conference, upon which no explicit opinion had been expressed by them on the part of his majesty's government; they then declared, that they were authorized to inform the queen's law officers, that, in the event of her majesty's going to the continent, a yacht or ship of war would be provided for the conveyance of her majesty, either to a port in the channel, or to a port in the Mediterranean, as her majesty might prefer.

That every personal attention and respect would be paid by the king's servants abroad to her majesty, and every endeavour made by them to protect her majesty against any possible inconvenience, whether in her travels or residing on the Continent—with the understood reserve, however, of public reception by the king's ministers abroad, and introduction at foreign courts.

It was further stated by the king's servants, that having weighed the suggestion communicated

by the queen's law officers in the preceding conference, they were now prepared to declare, that they saw no difficulty (if the terms in which the same were to be conveyed were properly guarded to a proposition being made to both houses, for expressing by address to the queen as well as to the king, their grateful acknowledgments for the facilities which their majesties might have respectively afforded, towards the accomplishment of an arrangement by which parliament had been saved the necessity of so painful a discussion.

These observations not appearing to make any material difference in the views taken by her majesty's law officers of the result of the conferences, it was agreed to proceed in the arrangement of the protocols.

Before however the protocol was discussed, the king's servants desired distinctly to know from her majesty's law officers, whether the introduction of the queen's name in the Liturgy, and her majesty's introduction at foreign courts, were either of them a condition *sine qua non* of an arrangement on the part of the queen; to which it was replied, that either the introduction of her majesty's name in the Liturgy, or an equivalent, which would have the effect of protecting her majesty against the unfavourable inference to which her majesty might be liable in leaving the country under the circumstances in which her majesty was placed, was a *sine qua non*. The queen could not be advised voluntarily to consent to any

arrangement which was not satisfactory to her majesty's own feelings, however her majesty, with a view to meet the understood wishes of parliament, had felt it her duty to propose to leave the whole question to an arbitration.

No proposition on the part of her majesty, other than those already adverted to, was brought forward.

WELLINGTON. H. BROUGHAM.

CASTLEREAGH. T. DENMAN.

It was, however, not only in the metropolis, that her majesty's return to this country was hailed in the most enthusiastic manner. In every part of the kingdom, meetings were held, and the utmost festivity was maintained. It must, however, be mentioned to the discomfiture of those, who saw in those meetings nothing but the cloven foot of party and of faction, that in no one instance was a breach of the peace committed. Hilarity and decorum prevailed, and it must be added, that in no one instance was a spirit of the most genuine loyalty deficient.

At Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, the return of her majesty was celebrated in a very particular manner. On the 12th, a very large and respectable party met in that town, to form a procession in celebration of the return of her majesty the queen, to England. The procession commenced in the square in the front of the Town-hall, and proceeded in the following order :—

An oak bough : mottoes, ' Long live the King and Queen, may they stand like the Oak, and their Enemies fall like its Leaves ;' ' King and Constitution ;' ' Trade and Commerce ;' ' Long Life to the Princess Victoria.'

A numerous band of music, composed of gentlemen amateurs ; a white banner, with the Royal arms, initials in gold, on black, ' C. E.,' surmounted in a drapery with a celestial crown ; motto, ' Britons will support their Queen.'

A crowned King and Queen, tastefully woven in flowers. His Majesty's banner on the right of the Queen.

A chaplet of laurel, with a transparent initial C.; and a regal crown, supported on each side with brilliant stars on laurel.

A Royal purple banner. Three tablets with inscriptions ' Brougham ;' ' Ennobled Wood and his illustrious race ;' ' Denman ;' each ornamented with garlands of flowers.

The train consisted of upwards of 4,000 people, who moved round the town cheering, amidst the ringing of bells, and waving of handkerchiefs from different houses, and the pageant concluded with the chorus of ' God save the King,' and four times four cheers. A most respectable party then retired to the White Hart Inn, John Bourne, of Dalby-house, Esq. in the Chair, who, after addressing the meeting in a neat and applicable speech, gave ' Her most gracious majesty the Queen ; may injured innocence ever meet brave, honest, and able defenders ;' three times three. A great number of other loyal and

constitutional toasts were given, and several national airs performed at intervals by the band. The evening terminated with the greatest harmony and hilarity.

On Sunday the 18th, Divine Service was performed before her majesty, at her residence in Portman-street, by the Rev. G. A. Brown. After dinner her majesty took an airing in her carriage, when immense crowds assembled to see her.

As Monday the 19th was fixed by parliament for proceeding on the important question of the king's message, on the failure of the negotiation, it was therefore necessary that the utmost expedition should be used by the negotiators; accordingly they met on the Sunday at Lord Castle-reagh's, in St. James's-square, and the following is the protocol of the conference.

Before proceeding to finish the discussion of the protocols, it was suggested, on the part of the king's servants, if possible to meet the queen's wishes, and in order the better to assure to her majesty every suitable respect and attention within the particular State in which she might think fit to establish her residence (the Milanese or the Roman States having been previously suggested by her majesty's law officers, as the alternative within her majesty's contemplation) that the king would cause official notification to be made of her majesty's legal character as queen, to the government of such State.—That consistently, with the reasons already stated, it must

rest with the sovereign of such State what reception should be given to her majesty in that character.

The king's servants were particularly anxious to impress upon the queen's law officers the public grounds upon which this principle rested.

The general rule of foreign courts is to receive only those who are received at home.

The king could not with propriety require any point, of foreign governments, the refusal of which would not afford his majesty just grounds of resentment or remonstrance.

It would be neither for the king's dignity, nor for the queen's comfort that she should be made the subject of such a question.

To this it was replied for the queen, that with respect to this new proposition on the part of the king's servants, it should be taken into immediate consideration; but her majesty's law officers observed, that her majesty was not in the situation referred to in the above reasoning, having been habitually received at court in this country for many years, and having only ceased to go there in 1814, out of regard to the peculiarly delicate situation in which the unfortunate differences in the royal family placed the late queen.

The latter observation was met, on the part of the king's servants, by a re-assertion of his majesty's undoubted authority on this point, whether as king, or as Prince Regent in the

exercise of the royal authority, that the court held by her late majesty was in fact the court of the Prince Regent, then acting in the name and on the behalf of his late majesty, and that the present queen, then Princess of Wales, was excluded from such court.

WELLINGTON. H. BROUGHAM.

CASTLEREAGH. T. DENMAN.

Early on the 19th, the negotiators again met at the Foreign Office, and the fifth and last protocol was signed by the respective parties.

The protocols of the preceding conferences were read and agreed upon.

Her majesty's law officers stated, that the proposition of the preceding day had been submitted to her majesty, and that it had not produced any alteration in her majesty's sentiments.

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of the expression used on mentioning their belief that her majesty might overcome her reluctance to go abroad, *viz.*, "under all the circumstances of her position," they stated that they meant thereby, the unhappy domestic differences which created the difficulty of her majesty holding a court, and the understood sense of parliament, that her majesty's residence in this country might be attended with public inconvenience.

They also protested generally, in her majesty's name, against being understood to propose or to desire any terms inconsistent with the honour and



HENRY BROUGHAM ESQ.^R M.P.

Her Majesty's Attorney General.

London, Published by Tho.^s Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, July 29, 1820.

It is the duty of every citizen to
to support the government and

to maintain the peace and order of the
community and to be loyal to the
country and its laws.



The following is a list of the names of the
persons who have been elected to the
office of the Mayor of the City of New York
since the year 1784. The names are given in
the order in which they were elected, and
the year of their election is given in parentheses.
The names are given in the order in which they
were elected, and the year of their election is
given in parentheses. The names are given in
the order in which they were elected, and the
year of their election is given in parentheses.

dignity of the king, or any which her own vindication did not seem to render absolutely necessary.

MEMORANDUM.—The second and third points as enumerated for discussion in the protocol of the first conference where not brought into deliberation, in consequence of no satisfactory understanding having taken place upon the points brought forward by her majesty's law officers.

The five protocols were then respectively signed.

WELLINGTON. H. BROUGHAM.

CASTLEREAGH. T. DENMAN.

Never, in the annals of parliament, was a more intense anxiety displayed by the public to become acquainted with their proceedings, than what was evinced on the evening of the 19th. Every avenue to either house was literally choaked, for although some well-founded rumours had been circulated, in the course of the day, that the negotiation had failed, yet as some hopes of adjustment remained, it was the ardent wish of every one that those hopes should be realized; the result, however, shewed on what a baseless foundation those hopes were built, for in the House of Lords,

The Earl of Liverpool rose soon after five, and observed, that since the communication made from his majesty to their lordships, and since the election of a secret committee, in pursuance of that

communication from the throne, circumstances of which their lordships were all aware, he had considered it his duty to move, from time to time, for postponing the sitting of the secret committee for investigating the papers laid by his majesty's command on the table of the house. The reason of his doing this was owing to communications and explanations then going on, and which many had hoped would ultimately lead to a most desirable end. He regretted to be under the necessity of stating, that such communications and such explanations had not terminated in that result so much hoped for, he was certain, by their lordships, by the other house of parliament, and by the country at large, and which had even been expected by him. He must candidly state, as the business now unfortunately stood, that he should not have conceived he himself had done his duty, if he had refrained from advising his majesty to lay before their lordships the papers and correspondence which had passed on this painful subject since the negotiation commenced. Those papers he now held in his hand, and should present them by his majesty's command, so that they might be in readiness by the following day, (the 20th). But as it was desirable to allow time for considering them, he should propose to discharge the order for the meeting of the secret committee, and fix that event for Friday the 23d, an arrangement to which he anticipated no opposition from the noble lords.

The Marquis of Lansdown was desirous to be informed what course was intended to be pursued with respect to the papers now laid upon the table by his majesty's command. If the secret committee were to assemble for investigation on the 23d, there certainly would be no opportunity for considering them.

The Earl of Liverpool said, that as their lordships would be in possession of the papers now communicated before the actual meeting, it was competent to any noble lord, if he saw fit, to make a motion on them antecedently to the sitting of the secret committee. But he, certainly, had at present no notice to give.

The Marquis of Lansdown said, if he understood the noble earl opposite, there really was nothing in the contents of the papers just communicated to prevent the sitting of the secret committee on the 23d.

The Earl of Liverpool here observed, that respecting the documents in question, all he intended was to present them, as he already had done, by his majesty's command, and to move that they should immediately be printed for the information of the house. It would remain for their lordships then to determine what course it appeared most proper to take.

Earl Grey entered his protest against the proceeding by the medium of a secret committee in the present case, and wished at the same time for some explanations from his majesty's ministers.

What he would demand, was the situation in which their lordships stood? A message in the first instance came down to their lordships from the crown, exhibiting charges against her majesty the queen consort of a most serious nature, and soliciting the advice of the house. Ministers soon after thought it expedient to propose an adjournment of the affair, not as it appeared to him upon any solid grounds, but probably to watch the progress of the other house of parliament, and ascertain what that branch of the legislature was likely to do; though he would contend that it was most improper in their lordships to adjourn their own proceedings in order first to ascertain what course would be taken by the House of Commons. At length, after some discussion and explanation, both ended to the great regret of the noble earl (Liverpool,) and also of the public. After all this, the papers in relation to the negotiation so terminated are laid before the house; and now, what he wanted to know was, why were those papers so laid before them—with what view, and to what end? It was absolutely the very first time, he believed, in which papers as between the king himself and a subject had been laid upon the table as in the present case. Wherefore the secret committee was to proceed at all, without first considering the papers, or why, indeed, they were not to proceed at once, could not be collected from either the language or measures. He apprehended that it was the duty

of advisers of the crown, before whom all lay open, to have previously made up their minds before they came down to Parliament on the case; but the present was of a-piece with all the rest of their conduct, in shrinking from a responsibility they ought to have courted, and shifting from themselves on their lordships the execution of a disagreeable duty, which belonged in reality to them. Thus was completed that measure of disgrace into which, in common with his noble friends, the house had fallen by adopting the advice of the noble earl.

The Earl of Harrowby was satisfied that noble lords opposite would never be able to substantiate their charges against his majesty's ministers, with all the eloquence of the last noble earl, except they first succeeded in making out a similar case. If, therefore, in such an affecting and momentous case as the present one, where no light could be derived from precedent, and even that afforded by analogy was dubious and faulty, he must continue to believe that his majesty's ministers had acted with propriety in resorting to Parliament for legislative guidance. With respect to the objections of the noble earl against the adjournments which had taken place, he would put it to all their lordships who attended at different times, whether that delay was not as much in consequence of the feelings of noble lords on each side, who hoped that the queen might thereby come out of the dilemma, and spare Par-

liament and the country the most painful necessity of proceeding to ulterior steps? Upon the rupture of a negotiation begun and continued with such views, in which ministers had endeavoured to execute what both houses were desirous of, he conceived that ministers would not merely be blamed, but censured, were they not to communicate to Parliament the grounds upon which the negotiation was carried on, and the circumstances which unhappily had induced the result. With this feeling, his majesty had been advised to communicate to both houses the papers now upon the table of the house. With respect to the objection that ministers had proposed no measure, this was nothing unusual in either house. Nothing was more common than to lay papers on the table, without calling for an opinion from Parliament, even in the case of treaties by which long wars were concluded. With respect to that responsibility which ministers were supposed to dread, their lordships had hitherto no well-grounded cause to entertain this charge; and he trusted that, if confidence were required yet, their lordships would not be deceived in the end. Impressed in this manner with respect to the present case, he hoped that in an affair so delicate and so distressing, and so painfully novel to them, it was proper advice not rashly to steer upon an ocean where there was no compass. He was not willing to add one word more; but, satisfied with the line of conduct that had been

adopted, he was convinced that no other course could have been taken in such a case.

Lord Holland still conceived that his noble relation (*Grey*) had reason in expressing his dissatisfaction at the mode of laying the papers in question on the table of their lordships' house. What was the object of depositing them there—to further the proceedings it seemed they were about to take, or to prevent any proceeding at all? Ministers now assured their lordships that every thing was done by Government to avert those disclosures. But what certainty had their lordships on this point? and what reasons were given by ministers for the measures they advised their lordships to take? Certainly none, that he could discover. Did, he would ask, his majesty's ministers act in this manner when they plumped on Parliament with their silken bags filled, or supposed to be so, with secret plots? Oh, no! Filled with horrors at the evils they were the bearers of, on these occasions his majesty's ministers could come down, not only with full, but inflated descriptions to alarm the public mind, secrets were exposed, and their lordships had no reason to complain of ignorance on the subject. Such in this instance was the shifting and shaking of the reputed props of the state, that he could almost bring himself to be a Tory, seeing the monarchial part of the Constitution so surrendered by ministers to either house. What was this conduct in ministers but saying to the

house, in effect, "We will continue to keep our places and our holidays, and your lordships may do our business for us." Even the noble earl (Liverpool) did not, if he understood him well, at first expect the negotiation to end favourably. Far better would it have been for ministers had they profited by the admonition of one of his noble friends near him (Lansdowne) and put off the proceeding at first, appointed no Secret Committee, but left affairs to take their natural course. "No" cried the noble earl and his side, "such a line of proceeding will be inconsistent with the dignity of this house. We cannot wait for the other house. Let us go on to the ballot, and shew our determination to act." And now he would ask their lordships, what had become of their dignity in this unhappy case? Could they imagine they were raised on a pedestal by rejecting the warning of his noble friend? Was it dignified to have kept fifteen noble lords suspended like judges in the air? If ever it was determined to try conciliation at all between personages so prominently illustrious, why were not proceedings in that case suspended at once? Suppose, in the event, that the House of Commons should, after all, now refuse to ballot for a Secret Committee, where, indeed, would be their lordships dignity? He was sorry the word escaped his lips, but he could not help repeating it, and declaring that the whole proceeding was disgraceful to the house

The Earl of Darnley was of opinion, that the postponement was in deference to the wish of both houses, and not simply to this house. If the other house had appointed a Secret Committee at once, was it not probable that their lordships would have gone on?

The Earl of Harrowby could not perceive how the adjournments in this business were attributable to those noble lords only with whom he had the honour to act. His opinion was, that it had been the express wish of all noble lords, that further time should be afforded for discussions and explanations, even as long as any hope remained of a favourable result. It was indisputably clear, indeed, that their lordships had not voted so, but the opinion was implied by adjourning from time to time in the manner they did.

Earl Grey allowed that papers had occasionally been laid upon the table in silence, and no proceedings then had; but, on the other hand, when such documents were communicated with a view to ulterior proceedings, it was unprecedented not to explain the object of them. Notwithstanding all he had heard, he was wholly at a loss to conjecture on what solid grounds their lordships would postpone their proceedings to the 16th. Whenever that day should come, it was probable the language of ministers would be—"Propose what you like, we shall propose nothing." Then should any one propose what ministers did not

like, the whole might amount to no proposition at all.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said, it certainly had been his fate to submit a proposition to their lordships in the first instance, on broad constitutional grounds, to abstain altogether. But, notwithstanding his objections, their lordships were induced to adopt a contrary course, nor did any one resist the motion for a Secret Committee. The second day, before one word could be uttered, the noble earl opposite held out to their lordships the boon of conciliation, which determined a further delay.

The Earl of Liverpool now observed, that he felt as strongly satisfied as ever that in proposing the balloting for a Secret Committee, their lordships were induced to pursue the most constitutional course. If he was satisfied they were doing right at the time they agreed to ballot, that satisfaction was strengthened from whatever had occurred since. After the ballot there arose good reasons for suffering the meeting of the Secret Committee to stand over. This he stated at the time; but it seemed he was misapprehended, or had spoken loosely, with regard to what he originally had entertained as his own opinion of the result of negotiation. To the best of his recollection on this point, he still supposed that he had spoken with due caution; and all he intended to say was, that he individually

had heard nothing to induce him to support the motion for postponement, but in deference to reports which had reached him, and the feelings which seemed to pervade their lordships' minds, he consented to a short adjournment. After this, their lordships might remember he stated that explanations and discussions were going on, and there appeared a well founded hope of adjustment. Here the matter stood, till this night, when he laid the papers in relation to the negotiation, now ended, on the table of the house. But their lordships should always bear in mind the difficulties, as well as the delicacy of this extraordinary case, and that there existed no precedent for them.

Lord Rolle here rose, remarked there was no question yet before their lordships, and moved to adjourn the house.

Lord Holland now explained.

Lord Dacre intimated the possibility of their lordships not finding the Commons in concert with their present course, and the insurmountable perplexity to be apprehended in this case. He was desirous of gathering some information from ministers ; but at present he would suppose that the noble earl opposite thought the papers now laid upon the table would furnish some grounds of proceeding, and so far the noble earl expressed an opinion. He wished to know, however, how far the papers went ? Were they only those passing last week ; and if only those, would an-

terior ones be allowed, in order to judge fairly of the whole?

Lord Rolle repeated his motion for adjourning the house; which, was resisted by *Lord Holland*, who moved that the papers should be now read.

Earl Spencer supported the motion that the papers be read.

The Lord Chancellor spoke to order, and reminded their lordships, that a motion of adjournment had been made, but themselves would determine whether the speeches they were hearing had any connexion with the motion.

The motion for reading the papers, superseded that for adjourning the house; and the titles were accordingly read:—

No. 1. Copy of a Letter from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool, dated June 9, 1820.

No. 2. Copy of the Answer addressed thereto by the Earl of Liverpool, on the 10th of June.

No. 3. Copy of a Letter from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool, dated June 10.

No. 4. Answer of a Letter in reply to that of the Queen from the Earl of Liverpool, dated June 11.

No. 5. Copy of a Letter from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool, dated June 12.

No. 6. Answer of the Earl of Liverpool to the same, dated June 13.

No. 7. Copy of a Note addressed by the Earl of Liverpool on the 13th of June to his Majesty.

No. 8. A Copy of a Note addressed by Mr. Brougham to the Earl of Liverpool, stating her Majesty's consent

to the appointment of two persons on her behalf, for settling all matters in dispute between herself and his Majesty.

No. 9. An Appendix, containing the names of the persons proposed as arbitrators on the part of the Queen, with a view to conclude an arrangement; dated June 15.

No. 10. A Memorandum of an arrangement proposed to the Queen, on the 13th of April last, previous to her coming to England.

No. 1. Protocol of the first conversation held on this subject at St. James's-square.

No. 2. Protocol of the second conversation held at the Foreign Office.

Nos. 3 and 4. Protocols of the third and fourth conversations held at St. James's-square.

No. 5. Protocol of the fifth and last conversation held on this subject at the Foreign Office*.

The Earl of Lauderdale here wished to be informed, if the noble earl opposite was disposed to communicate such papers as had passed in this affair, not only on but before the 9th of June. He was anxious to inspect the whole evidence and facts, in order to see whether it was prudent or wise to have negotiated at all since her majesty had arrived here, or whether the business was fruitless from the first. The noble Earl had himself the advantage of seeing the whole of the papers now referred to; while

* These papers have been all given according to their respective dates.

their lordships saw only their detached parts, for any thing to the contrary yet known. He wished to have the antecedent parts.

The Earl of Liverpool had no objection to produce one document of anterior date, the only one then officially communicated to him. When the whole of the papers were before the house, noble lords would be enabled to form their opinions on the entire case, with explanations of particular parts.

Lord Erskine wished to know if the noble lord thought it possible for them to advise the king, whether the negotiation would prove efficient or non-efficient if their lordships were ignorant of the contents of the papers upon which that negotiation had been established. That was a question which could be decided by his majesty's government alone, because they had seen the papers; but their lordships would never venture to deliver an opinion on a subject of which they knew nothing whatever. He, for one, therefore, should never give his opinion upon such information; at the same time he did not wish it to be supposed that he felt any anxiety to drag open the question. He had consented to the Secret Committee, because he considered it both a legal and constitutional proceeding; but the present was a question totally distinct from that proceeding, and until he heard those papers, he, for one, would never deliver an opinion on the present subject.

The question was then put, and the house adjourned.

In the House of Commons the proceedings were of a more limited nature.

Lord Castlereagh appeared at the bar of the house, and acquainted the Speaker, that he had it in command from his majesty, to lay before the house certain papers, which he then held in his hand, relative to the late negotiation between their majesties. The papers were then presented, and the title of them read by the clerk at the table, which were the same as those read in the House of Lords.

Lord Castlereagh then rose and said, he felt it his duty to state to the house, that his majesty had been induced to order these papers to be laid before them, in order to show the house that every effort had been made to relieve Parliament from an inquiry of this painful nature, and prevent the necessity of the house proceeding further in the investigation. Having failed in accomplishing that object, he had been authorised to present to the house the papers just then read. His majesty on ordering him to bring down these papers, had made a complete communication of the whole of the proceedings which had taken place on the subject of the differences existing between those illustrious individuals, and it was with pain he had to communicate that the result had not led to any satisfactory arrangement. His majesty felt the extreme importance of the question about to

be agitated, and was accordingly anxious that, before the house should enter into any discussion of the subject, the whole of those papers, concluding the series of information of what had been done up to the present time, should be laid before them, so as to shew the nature of the efforts which had been made to bring about a satisfactory arrangement. It would be improper on his part, as well as unsatisfactory to the public, if the house were suffered to proceed in the investigation of a subject of so much importance without the most complete and authentic information, so as to relieve the house in some degree, from the painful situation in which it was now likely it would be placed. These papers were already in the act of being printed, and he hoped they would be ready to-morrow early for the members' information. Under these circumstances, he felt it his duty to propose, first, that the order of the day for resuming the debate on his majesty's message should be adjourned until Wednesday the 14th; and next, to follow it up with a motion, that the papers be printed. This mode of proceeding, he trusted, would enable the house more adequately to determine what should be done under all the difficulties of the case. He concluded by moving the papers should be printed.

Mr. Brougham wished it to be understood he concurred in the statement which had been made by the noble lord of the nature of the proceedings which had taken place with reference to this

subject, and, in common with the noble lord, he as deeply regretted that these efforts should have been made in vain. The noble lord could not feel deeper or more sincere regret than himself, at the unfortunate failure of those overtures for accommodating the differences subsisting between the illustrious individuals in question. He thought the house would not be of opinion, after it had seen the papers now laid on the table, that there was any reason to award blame to her majesty. He was not hereby disposed to cast any blame on the disposition manifested on the part of the other illustrious individual concerned. Amongst the many unfortunate peculiarities of this case, it had one striking peculiarity, that the house might, after it had seen these papers, be of opinion that blame did attach in another quarter.

The further debate on this question was, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, then adjourned until Wednesday the 21st.

It may be necessary to enter a little into detail respecting the failure of this negotiation, without the slightest imputation being thrown out of any attempt to prejudge the question of the guilt or innocence of the illustrious individual, whose cause is now become the cause of the whole nation. It ought to be admitted, as the ground-work of every argument which is advanced on this momentous question, that the queen is actually innocent, until the laws of her country have determined upon her guilt; and further, that that determination has

been decided upon after the most solemn and impartial examination of the witnesses which are to be brought forward not only in support of the charges, but also against them. It is sufficiently painful for us to know, that as every avenue to an amicable adjustment between the illustrious parties appears to be closed, that we shall be compelled ere long to enter upon discussions of a most delicate and distressing nature. The object proposed by the late negotiation originated in the earnest desire of the House of Commons, as guardians of the public morals and of the public peace, to prevent disclosures, which would in all probability be fatal to both. To this wish of the house the ministers deferred, though with little hope of any beneficial result, although it must be owned that in many instances a particular part of the public press was prostituted rather to inflame the minds of the people, than to promote an amicable adjustment of the truly unfortunate differences. Her majesty was taught to look upon the persons who conducted the negotiation on the part of the king, not as persons anxious for the dignity of the crown and the peace of the country, but as actual monsters thirsting for her blood, and seeking to wreck her fortune and her fame for ever by the oath of suborned witnesses. Attempts were made to convince the people, that the negotiators as well as the ministers, were persons who had actually fabricated false charges affecting the very life of the queen, which were to be sup-

ported by perjured evidence, and, that like a victim of the Inquisition, she was to be condemned in secret and unheard. It is far from our wish to panegyrisé the individuals who at this moment hold the reins of government, they are by no means exempt from the fallibilities of human nature, but they are men of honour, and in private life of the most unimpeachable character; we ask, therefore, whether the monstrous atrocity imputed to them would be credited of any English nobleman, or any English gentleman? Do the functions of a minister absolve him from all ties of humanity, or does the tenure of an office grant him a charter to level the shafts of destruction at the fortune, fame, and even the life of an individual, whether of a low or an exalted station, upon merely fabricated charges, and to refuse the accused party every means and opportunity of rebutting them? Could the ministers without contradicting the whole tenor of their lives, without sinning against common sense and common honesty, be guilty of the conduct which has been attributed to them?

In the open avowal of these sentiments we wish by no means to be considered as departing from that strict line of impartiality which will be the chief characteristic of this work. We dispute not the innocence of the queen, nor do we presume upon her guilt; we are bound to believe in the former, until the latter has been confirmed and substantiated by the most irrefutable evidence.

Mere allegation, in this instance, will not avail, but let the question be fairly stated. Suppose that evidence has been laid before the ministers of this country, imputing charges of gross impropriety of conduct; we will even go further, and say of criminality, against the queen. Are they to shut their eyes to that evidence—are they to gloss it over as a mere every-day transaction, unworthy of their examination; and if that examination be thought worthy of their attention, ought it to be passed over slightly? Have the ministers shewn themselves to be men so utterly devoid of all sagacity, so bereft of common sense, as to venture the serious lengths to which they have now gone, upon common report, upon the mere tittle tattle of discarded menials, and to institute one of the most solemn and serious charges which was ever brought against an individual, without any thing to warrant them in the undertaking? But on the supposition that proceedings will be instituted against her majesty, it would be the height of absurdity to suppose that an English minister dare to withhold from her the fullest and fairest means of defence. The minister brings forward his alleged proofs of criminality; these must necessarily be exposed to the severest scrutiny, and weighed in the most equal balance against such defensive evidence as may be adduced; therefore, as the queen is not to be prejudged, the ministers are certainly entitled to the same respect and consideration; they have also characters to support,

and as we reprobate every attempt to make her majesty the sport of calumny, equally so do we condemn that factious spirit which is ever on the alert to calumniate those whose painful duty it is to bring forth the charges against her majesty. It is possible, and it is the sincerest wish not only of ourselves, but of every friend to his country, that the result of future investigation may be to disprove the heaviest charges against her majesty. But it must be still admitted, that the evidence which the ministers have submitted to parliament is entitled to the most grave and serious consideration.

It has been already stated that the consideration of his majesty's message, had been postponed in the House of Commons, until Friday the 22d ; in the mean time, however, a meeting was held of the leading county members, in which it was resolved to make every effort to bring about a conciliation between the illustrious parties, and to prevent that exposure which could not but be subversive of the morals and peace of the country.

It will be seen by the public documents, which have been regularly given under their respective dates, that although the negotiation failed, yet that concessions were mutually made, on which the basis of an arrangement might be formed, satisfactory to the feelings and compatible with the honour both of the king and queen. Her majesty yielded to the sense of parliament, and consented to reside

abroad, and on the other hand, his majesty had been advised to cause official notification to be made of her majesty's legal character of queen to the government of the State, in which she should reside. This certainly was a considerable approximation to an amicable arrangement; it must, however, be admitted that something of the cloven foot appeared in this notification, for it was accompanied with the intimation, that his majesty's ministers would not presume to say whether the foreign government would pay any attention to the notification. This they certainly could not take upon themselves to pronounce definitively, but it is past all doubt, that his majesty's ministers had it in their power to remove every obstacle in the way of that notification being acted upon, and the first of which was the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy. If she were unworthy of being prayed for in her own country, was she worthy of being received in the super-moral courts of Italy and Austria, in which the prayers of the righteous are supposed to possess double weight with that Being to whom they are addressed; and therefore, according to the minister's own view of her majesty's character, they were the most proper courts for her majesty to repair to. It is, however, a principle in human nature to be most vociferous in the condemnation of those particular vices, to which some illnatured monitor tells us that we are ourselves particularly addicted. Her majesty was to return to Italy,

unabsolved from the imputation of infidelity to the marriage bed. Is such an act unknown in the profligate courts of Italy? or does not the cornuted husband actually reside under the same roof with the sharer of his wife's affections? Is it not almost made a part of the marriage settlement, that the lady should have a companion to enliven her dreary hours, when her lawful husband is abroad? and these are the virtuous, the continent gentry, who, mounted upon the stilts of decorum, turn aside and look askance when an illustrious female comes amongst them, who is only suspected of that crime which they are hourly practising, and whose suspicion rests upon the testimony of degenerate beings like themselves.

The veriest foe of her majesty will not deny her a depth of penetration and a solidity of judgment, seldom attained by a female: she can say in the words of the poet—

I have seen many cities, and the manners of many men
and even the enlightened, the classical Canning, calls her “an ornament of her sex!” With the knowledge therefore which her majesty has acquired of the Italian character, with all its bigotry, its superstition, and its profligacy, she considered the restoration of her name in the Liturgy as indispensable to her reception at an Italian court, and especially one under the control of the Austrian government. As, however, retraction is not a

part of royal etiquette, as it presupposes a previous action founded in error, which is contrary to the known principles of the English constitution, her majesty, with a view of conceding every thing but her honour, comes forward, and by her advisers, says, "If you will not restore my name to the Liturgy, then adopt some equivalent measure, which shall have the effect of protecting me against the unfavourable inference to which I shall be liable on leaving the country under the circumstances in which I am placed."

Thus a fresh opening was made for the accommodation of this important difference—and Mr. Wilberforce, to his credit be it spoken, seized the opportunity, and on the 20th, in the House of Commons, rose and said, that in consequence of the failure of the late negotiations between the king and queen, he felt it his duty to give notice, for the following day, of a motion on the subject.

Mr. Brougham said, that to-morrow being a notice day, the motion of the honourable member would, according to the rules of the house, take precedence of the discussion of the noble lord (Castlereagh's) motion. He threw out this, not for the purpose of objecting to the honourable member's motion, but in order to inquire whether it would not be as well to pursue the same course upon this as upon former negotiations. That course was to lay upon the table a statement of the grounds on which the negotiation had failed. If

this were done, it would, perhaps, lead, on the part of ministers, to a defence of the opposite party. Until this took place, it was desirable that all parties should abstain from touching either directly or indirectly, on the manner in which the negotiation had been conducted, because the grounds upon which the parties acted could not be fairly examined. This course would not in any manner, preclude the fullest inquiry into the subject.

Lord Castlereagh was not aware that the honourable and learned member was correct in the view which he took of the mode of proceeding adopted on former negotiations. On a variety of occasions he had seen that no consideration was had as to the manner in which negotiations had been conducted. For instance, in the negotiations at Vienna the course now suggested had not been pursued. As to the other part of the honourable and learned member's speech, he (*Lord Castlereagh*) had no hesitation in saying that he did not feel it necessary to enter into any justification of the course taken by his majesty's government respecting this negotiation. The house would form its own judgment from the papers which had been laid on the table. He was aware that his honourable friend's motion would have precedence on the following day; but even if that were not the regular course, he should gladly bend to any measure which in the judgment of the house would render the further

discussion of his motion unnecessary. It was undoubtedly open to the honourable member, or to the house, to make any motion on the subject, as the parties more immediately concerned would afterwards have an opportunity of considering of what Parliament thought on the subject. If any mode could be suggested which would relieve the case from the difficulties with which it was surrounded, he should feel it his duty to attend to them as all further discussion on the subject ought to be, if possible avoided.

Mr. Brougham observed, that he felt as strongly as the noble lord could do the justice of the observations he had made. He was anxious that all further discussion ought to be, if possible, avoided. The noble lord had stated that he did not feel it necessary to enter into any defence of the conduct pursued by ministers; he (*Mr. Brougham*) begged also to state, that he did not feel it at all necessary to enter into a defence of the conduct pursued by her majesty or her legal advisers. Those advisers, as well as her majesty, were satisfied that the case should rest on the candour of the house, from what appeared on the face of the proceedings.

Mr. Tierney hoped the honourable member (*Mr. Wilberforce*) would explain the nature of the motion which he intended to make.

Mr. Wilberforce said he would rather decline any further explanation at present. He should, in the mean time, be happy to hear any sugges-

tion which should be thrown out on the subject. He was convinced that it was the feeling of the house and the country, that all minor differences should, as far as possible, be overlooked in endeavouring to bring about an amicable arrangement between the illustrious parties concerned. He was sure that, both now, and hereafter, he would obtain the greatest credit who should recommend the waving, as far as possible all personal considerations in order to bring about that which was so much to be desired, a happy termination of this distressing business.

Mr. Tierney observed, that the honourable member expressed a wish to hear suggestions from the house, without giving them any opportunity of knowing upon what subject. He once more asked, not for himself but for the information of the house, what the nature of the honourable member's motion was? He could see no difficulty in stating generally what was intended to be done.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that his motion in a great measure explained itself; its object undoubtedly was to remove, as far as possible, all obstacles to an amicable arrangement of the differences existing between their majesties.

Lord A. Hamilton said, that the honourable member having given notice of a motion which was to take precedence of the very important discussion of to-morrow, it surely was not too much to ask, for the information of the house,

what the object of that motion was. He did not wish to hear the precise words, he only asked the honourable member to state generally what its object was?

Mr. Scarlett begged to ask the honourable member, whether his object was to propose the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy? If the honourable member did not answer the question, he should conceive this to be the object of his motion.

Mr. Wilberforce said he would rather decline for the present giving any further explanation. He did not wish that his motion should have precedence, though he could not help thanking his noble friend (*Castlereagh*) for the readiness which he had shown to concede it to him. His lordship, by that concession, evinced a desire, in which he was joined by the whole country, to avoid, if possible, all further inquiry into this subject.

In consequence of *Mr. Wilberforce* having given this notice, the public anxiety was wrought to a height unequalled on any former occasion. It discharged in a great degree the negotiators from all further share in the arrangement of the differences, and made the House of Commons the supreme and sole arbiter. It was generally supposed, that in the hands of *Mr. Wilberforce*, strong as that gentleman is in the purity and virtue of his public and private character, and

backed as he was in this case by the great mass of virtuous and independent feeling within and without the house, all difficulties in this momentuous and delicate affair would be smoothed, and the differences ultimately adjusted. It was the universal expectation that his interference, supported by a great mass of parliamentary strength, with which, on this subject, he was in constant communication and concert, would bend resistance, perhaps, on both sides. But the opposing circumstances were greatly underrated, and even mistaken, for it must be admitted, that both parties, that is, the ministers and the queen, were precipitated in the very first stage into an uncompromising assumption of ground, from which they afterwards found it difficult to recede, and the negotiations so far from producing an approximation, or reducing the disputed parts to something unimportant, on the contrary, rather fastened the parties to the ground which they had taken. The negotiation may in some respects be compared to the reconnoitring of an army, in order to discover its weakness and its points of attack ; and especially if there were any *masked batteries* in reserve, which could open on either side, from a quarter where it was the least expected. Ministers evidently went into the negotiation under a total misconception as to the form and pretensions of her majesty, and this delusion was not completely dispelled, until the personal correspondence between the queen

and Lord Liverpool at the opening of the negotiation. Lord Liverpool had certainly good grounds to believe, at the moment of Lord Hutchinson's departure, in company with Mr. Brougham, for St. Omer's, that the queen had seen the memorandum of April 15th; and from the acceptance of the memorandum by Mr. Brougham, the queen's confidential adviser, Lord Liverpool had reason to suppose that the substance of the memorandum repeated (though it must be owned rather repulsively) through Lord Hutchinson would have been taken into consideration; but Mr. Brougham had never communicated it to the queen, and upon receiving its substance through Lord Hutchinson, she instantly rejected the proposal, and started for the shores of England.

As early as one o'clock, the crowd began to assemble in the vicinity of the House of Commons, the avenues to which were completely stopped. An unprecedented number of members attended, and after some preliminary business had been gone through, Mr. Wilberforce was called on by the Speaker in the order in which his motion stood on the list for the evening's business; a general silence ensued, and all directed their attention with obvious solicitude to that part of the house where he usually sat; it appeared, however, he was not to be found, and some general symptoms of anxiety and uneasiness began to display themselves. Silence and suspense ensued. Mr. Brougham shortly after

entered, and a very general exclamation of "here he is!" announced the arrival of Mr. Wilberforce; on his entrance he was greeted by loud cheers. He immediately retired to his customary seat, and addressed the Speaker.—He trusted it was not necessary he should assure the house, that he would not have been so backward in being at the post of duty that evening, if he had it in his power to control the cause which had prevented his appearing there earlier, as he was very well aware he would be expected with no ordinary anxiety. In fact, since he last night had the honour of addressing the house, circumstances had occurred which rendered it necessary he should vary in some particulars from the terms of the proposition he had proposed to submit to its adoption that day. He therefore most seriously put it to the house, that under these circumstances, they should concede to him an opportunity of varying, he trusted with effect, the means which he had in contemplation for obviating those results naturally awaiting upon so fatal an inquiry. He earnestly implored the noble lord not to bring on the motion which stood for to-day upon the king's gracious message to the house, and hoped that he would grant him another day to mature that proposition which he devoutly hoped and trusted would lead to an adjustment of interests it was so deeply to be regretted should ever have been separated. Finally, he hoped the house would not suppose he would have suffered him-

self, in a case of such paramount interest and importance, to be diverted from his purpose by any thing of a trifling nature, or that he would thus have trespassed upon the indulgence of the house and the noble lord, without assigning those reasons for his conduct which he trusted would hereafter be considered satisfactory, had it been in his power to have given them publicity, without prejudice to the great and important object he, in common with every well-wisher of his country, had in view.

Lord Castlereagh.—I own, Sir, that I deeply regret that any occasion has arisen to prevent the honourable member for Bramber, from motives which he has not thought proper to explain, and which therefore are not before the house, but which it is easy to conceive are good and sufficient reasons, not now to bring forward the motion of which he yesterday evening gave notice, and to induce him to call on me further to postpone that proceeding, which, in point of form, would not have preceded the honourable member's motion on the present evening. I am certainly not desirous of bringing on a discussion which it is so desirable, if possible, to avert; and I feel disposed, therefore, without inquiring further into the honourable member's reasons, to give him the credit to which, both on public and on private grounds, he is entitled, for the gravity of the motives by which he is actuated in the pursuance of the principle recognized by the

house—namely, that it is most desirable to avoid, if possible, any further proceeding on the subject. Under such circumstances, I should depart from the principles by which the conduct of his majesty's government has hitherto been directed, if I were to press the house to go forward and decide on the mode in which they will inquire into the information which has been laid on their table, until every fair and reasonable expedient has been adopted to prevent the necessity for that step. While, however, I readily accede to the honourable member's request, I beg to submit to his consideration the great public evil which arises from the existing uncertainty and hesitation on this question, and the expediency of avoiding every delay, not absolutely necessary, that may be calculated to continue that agitation into which the public mind has been thrown, and which must exist until the wisdom of Parliament shall determine on the course which, on a view of all the circumstances of the case, it may appear most expedient to adopt. I therefore submit to the honourable member's requisition; but at the same time I conjure and entreat him not to allow any consideration whatever to induce him to delay the proposition which he has to make to the house beyond to-morrow; for I am sure that the evils of further delay are incalculable. I am sure that, although it is most desirable that, if possible, the house should be spared the delicate and difficult duty of entering into the inquiry in

question, and although the house has so expressed its wishes, a delay beyond to-morrow would have a tendency, under any circumstances, to defeat the object which all parties have so anxiously in view.

Mr. Wilberforce.—I hope the noble lord and the house will give me credit for not having proposed the postponement of this proceeding on light grounds. I cannot at present say any thing further on the subject; but I will to-morrow explain to the house my reasons.

Lord Castlereagh.—I by no means wish to press the honourable gentleman for an immediate explanation of his motives, which, I am persuaded, are of the soundest and most sufficient nature.

Lord A. Hamilton.—Sir, I wish to ask the honourable member for Bramber, whether or not he has any objection to state to the house what is the nature of the motion which it is his intention to bring forward to-morrow? I can assure honourable gentlemen that I do not ask this question out of idle curiosity, but because I wish to know the nature of the honourable gentleman's motion, with a view to shape my own course accordingly, as the answer to my question may induce me to determine; if I do not approve of the honourable gentleman's motion, either to propose an amendment to it, or to submit a distinct motion to the house.

Mr. Wilberforce.—My high respect for the noble lord's character must always induce me to afford

him every gratification compatible with my duty. I feel it to be inexpedient to say more on the subject of my motion publicly, but I shall have no objection whatever to converse with the noble lord in private upon it. What passed in the house yesterday evening, and its results, have confirmed me in the determination to refrain from entering into any previous explanation of the precise nature of my intended motion.

Mr. Tierney.—I really feel great difficulty, Sir, in agreeing to this postponement. It is, in every point of view, most desirable that this business should be terminated as soon as possible. We are placed in a situation that appears to me to be unparalleled. To a message which his majesty was graciously pleased to send down to this house, we answered by an Address, intimating that we would immediately enter into the consideration of the matters to which that message referred. Accordingly, we did enter on that consideration; but in consequence of the suggestion of a number of honourable members, the discussion was adjourned for several days, in order to give an opportunity for ascertaining whether it might not be practicable to bring the affair to a conclusion without further interference. The negotiations on the subject lasted for near a fortnight; and the noble lord then came down, declared that they had failed, laid on the table of the house papers explanatory of their nature, and gave notice that on this evening he would propose to resume the sus-

pended consideration of his majesty's message. Now, however, another—an individual member—took up the subject, and a fresh adjournment was proposed, in order that he might see what he could do. My noble friend near me, thinks it very likely that he may feel it necessary to make a motion on the subject. Other honourable members may also think it necessary to make motions. In the mean while the consideration of his majesty's message sleeps : and the delay is certainly neither respectful to the crown, nor creditable to this house. I think it fair, therefore, Sir, to give notice that, be the cause of the delay what it may, or let it originate in what quarter it may, I will to-morrow take the sense of the house on the propriety of any further adjournment, if such should be proposed.

Lord A. Hamilton.—I also, Sir, beg leave to give notice, that I will to-morrow move for the production of the order of council, under which her majesty's name was erased from the Liturgy.

Mr. Brougham.—Sir, I rise to know if I rightly understand the honourable gentleman who has just now postponed the motion of which he yesterday evening gave notice, and to state why, if I do rightly understand him, I think that the delay which he requires, of a single day, ought to be allowed, notwithstanding the great public inconvenience and evil which, in common with my noble and right honourable friend, I feel must result from any postponement of the question under

our consideration. If I rightly understand the honourable member, he considers either the adoption of his intended motion, or of any proposition which may arise out of it, the only alternative of a proceeding to an inquiry on the part of this house.—If this is really the honourable member's impression, I really think that the delay of a single day becomes of less importance, since, according to the honourable member, if his motion should not be acquiesced in by the house, the inquiry must then be commenced. Feeling, therefore, as strongly as any man the importance of not unnecessarily delaying the consideration of this question for a single hour, I nevertheless cannot but accede to the honourable member's proposition. I trust, however, that no circumstance whatever will prevent the honourable member from proceeding tomorrow; for I can assure the house, that as much anxiety is felt to avoid delay on the part of her majesty and her advisers, as can be felt in any other quarter whatever.

Mr. Scarlett.—If I correctly understand my honourable and learned friend, he thoroughly agrees with the honourable member for Bramber, that the success of that honourable member's motion is only one branch of an alternative, the other branch of which is the inquiry originally proposed by the noble lord opposite. Sir, I cannot conceive that such is the state of the case. In my humble judgment, whatever may

be the fate of the honourable member's motion, should it be rejected by the house, I shall still think it the sort of inquiry proposed by his majesty's ministers, and which is the only measure they have called upon us to agree to,—one which it is impossible that, consistently with its duty, the house can adopt. In my opinion, therefore, it by no means follows, as a necessary consequence of the rejection of the honourable member for Bramber's motion, that we must acquiesce in the proposition of the noble lord.

Mr. Brougham.—As my honourable and learned friend had no opportunity, or did not avail himself of any opportunity of expressing his opinion in that which would, perhaps, have been its right place, he has been induced to state it to the house now, and in a manner somewhat hasty; it becomes necessary for me to set myself right with my honourable and learned friend, and with the house. Does it follow, Sir, from what I said when I last addressed you, that I think what I have already characterised as an unconstitutional proceeding, must be the necessary consequence of the rejection of a motion, which, for ought I know, I may feel it my duty to oppose? By no means. What I stated was—not that I considered it as the alternative; but that as the honourable gentleman seemed to consider it as the alternative, and as he would therefore press his motion to-morrow, the delay of a single day did not appear to me to be unadvisable

Here the conversation was dropped; and on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, the order of the day for the resuming the adjourned debate on the king's message was discharged, and a new order made for the following day.

This postponement of Mr. Wilberforce's motion, arose from a letter addressed to him by her majesty, expressive of her surprise at the proposition which Mr. Wilberforce was to call on the house to make to her; namely, that she should withdraw herself from the prayers of the people, or in other words, that she should consent to the omission of her name in the Liturgy. The abandonment of that object by the queen, would certainly have removed one great obstacle in the way of negotiation between the queen and the ministers: but to what did that abandonment tend?—to the actual compromise of her character, by renouncing an unquestionable right. And, therefore, Mr. Wilberforce found himself obliged to change his ground, and to propose those resolutions declaratory of the sense of the house, that by conceding the point of the Liturgy to her opponents, she did not compromise her character nor her honour.

Accordingly on Thursday the 22d, Mr. Wilberforce was called upon in the House of Commons, to submit his promised motion to the house.

Mr. Wilberforce began by stating, that notwith-

standing the anxious desire he felt to bring this subject before the house, so painful and oppressive a task did he feel it to be, that were it not for the imperious sense of duty by which he was urged to proceed, he should have shrunk from the attempt. If something were not done to prevent that fatal inquiry, he (Mr. Wilberforce) was impressed with the idea that the greatest of all evils, one which he dared not to contemplate, would accrue to the country. He ought to take this opportunity of explaining to the house that the delay which had occurred in bringing forward this motion, was owing to his having received a communication from her majesty, which had required his utmost consideration, and required that he should change the plan of his proceedings. He should say nothing more on this point, further than that he had received a second communication explanatory of the first. He dare not say that these documents in themselves, held out any hopes that her majesty would acquiesce in the views he entertained. Having since had an opportunity of stating to her majesty the motives by which he was actuated, he found that her majesty had no other knowledge of the nature of his intended motion, than what had been collected from general report. The measure which he had afterwards come to the conclusion of adopting was, that of moving, that a resolution be passed, the object of which was, earnestly to express a hope that her majesty, now that the

material differences seemed to be so nearly done away, might be prevailed upon, under all circumstances, to wave the only remaining differences on grounds which he should state when he came to the motion itself. It would be remembered, that the ultimate difference between the king's servants and the law officers of the queen related to two points, *viz.* the causing her majesty to be acknowledged publicly as Queen of England in foreign courts—and the restoration of her majesty's name in the Liturgy. He wished it to be understood, that it was in one part of these papers virtually acknowledged, that the objection to giving her majesty a full introduction to one of the foreign courts abroad, although there were almost insuperable objections to it, could nevertheless be got over. Here the honourable gentleman read that passage in the correspondence, where it was suggested, that, in the foreign country in which her majesty might fix her future residence, she should be introduced at the court of that country by the British ambassador residing there. This was at first objected to, on the ground that the British government had no right to prescribe to any foreign prince the course which he should choose to pursue under such circumstances; and the difficulty was not got rid of. The next point required, was the restoration of the queen's name to the Liturgy. For his own part, after having given the fullest consideration to this point, he did not ascribe so

much importance to it as he had at first been inclined to do. It did not strike him as applying to any religious view of the subject. According to the mode of conducting the worship of the Church in this country, when men met to do honour to Him, to whom all honour was due, all distinctions of persons were done away. Our system of worship diffused an universal feeling of piety with regard to others, and put all descriptions of people on one common level. This was the sentiment of many persons with whom he had talked on the subject; and must it not be evident to every body, that, when prayers were offered up for the king and all the royal family, the queen, as one of that royal family, was prayed for? Had any gentleman, he would ask, ever heard of the royal family without thinking of the queen? It certainly was usual sometimes to express by name particular individuals of the royal family in prayers of the Church; it was usual to name, among others, the heir apparent to the crown; but in the present Church Service this rule was not adhered to; for the name of the Duke of York, who stood next to the crown, was not mentioned. His meaning, and he wished particularly to impress it on the house, was, that considering this question in a religious point of view, the queen was not excluded by the omission of her name, from the prayers of the congregation. The point was not specified as a thing that was considered or acted upon, until it

came to be debated in the conferences lately held respecting her majesty. Therefore his mind was impressed with a full persuasion, that this point respecting the Liturgy had not been considered as a religious question, nor as a thing of such great importance as was ascribed to it. Her majesty's legal advisers asked whether some mode might not be adopted to serve as an equivalent for the omission of her name in the Liturgy; and spoke of her official introduction at foreign courts, which they were inclined to consider as a good equivalent. This also went clearly to show, that the question was not considered as a religious one. The subject was mentioned a second time, with a view that something might be devised as an equivalent. It was, therefore, a great relief to his mind, that the question had not been pressed by her majesty's advisers on any religious principle. He was ready to grant that it was not altogether respectful to her majesty to omit her name; but he thought that such an amicable adjustment might be made as would be consistent with her majesty's honour, even if the omission still continued. His utmost desire was, to avoid that fatal green bag. (*Here there was considerable laughter in the house.*) This was a subject of too grave and serious a nature for merriment. He was sure they must all feel as he did on this melancholy subject; and no one should misconstrue the phrase he had used, for he declared, that while there was a smile upon his lip, there

was a pang at his heart. There was one part of the negotiation which had given him the greatest satisfaction. When it was required by her majesty's legal advisers that she should receive a recognition of her rights; what greater recognition, he asked, could she have than assurances from Parliament that her majesty was not shrinking from any inquiry; but was in the opinion of Parliament ready to meet every thing that might be laid to her charge. He would put it then to honourable gentlemen, who were the legal advisers of her majesty, whether this was not the very sort of equivalent which they were in search of, and whether it would not answer every purpose that might be desired. With regard to the Liturgy, he would again repeat, that the restoration of her majesty's name to it, was not considered as a matter of any importance. The omission of the name could not be supposed to have any effect upon her majesty abroad; because our liturgy was as little known in foreign countries on the Continent of Europe, as it was in China or Japan. He should now come to what he had to propose. The chief point to which he should draw the consideration of the house was, whether the queen would not go forth without any stigma on her character, after she had yielded to the wishes and authority of Parliament? Whether, after having done so, and receiving the recognition of Parliament, all imputation against her would not be removed? The dignity of

monarchy would always be the greater in proportion as they wished to conform to the wishes and the feelings of Parliament. And, he was sure that the queen had enough of English feeling about her to induce her to act in this way. He begged then that he might be allowed to express his anxious hope that the house would well weigh this question, and take such a course of proceeding as might lead to an amicable adjustment of all the unhappy differences which now prevailed among the royal personages; and, if the recommendation of the house should be attended to, oh! what a benefit would accrue to the nation.

He concluded by moving:

“Resolved, That this house has learned with unfeigned and deep regret, that the late endeavours to frame an arrangement which might avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two houses of Parliament, have not led to that amicable adjustment of the existing differences in the royal family, which was anxiously desired by Parliament and the nation.

“That this house, fully sensible of the objections which the queen might justly feel to taking upon herself the relinquishment of any points in which she might have conceived her own dignity and honour to be involved, yet feeling the inestimable importance of an amicable and final adjustment of the present unhappy differences, cannot forbear declaring its opinion, that when such large advances had been made towards that object, her majesty, by yielding to the earnest solicitude of the House of Commons, and forbearing to press further the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference of opinion is yet remaining, would

by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry, but would only be deemed to afford a renewed proof of the desire which her majesty has been graciously pleased to express, to submit her own wishes to the authority of Parliament; thereby entitling herself to the grateful acknowledgments of the House of Commons, and sparing this house the painful necessity of those public discussions, which, whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings, disappointing to the hopes of Parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire."

Mr. Stuart Wortley thought there was no other alternative than the motion of his honourable friend, or proceeding to an inquiry. If they adopted the latter course, they must do so with all its attendant evils before their eyes; they would throw the country for months into a state of agitation and alarm, and they would have their houses and their families inundated with publications which every man must wish to avoid. It appeared to him that her majesty might, without any derogation from her rank and honour, accede to the terms now proposed. She might accede to them, to use the words of the negotiation, without her majesty's admitting or the king's retracting any thing. In all the conferences which he and his honourable friend (*Mr. Wilberforce*) had on the subject, they had endeavoured so to shape the motion that it should be kept clear of all party views.

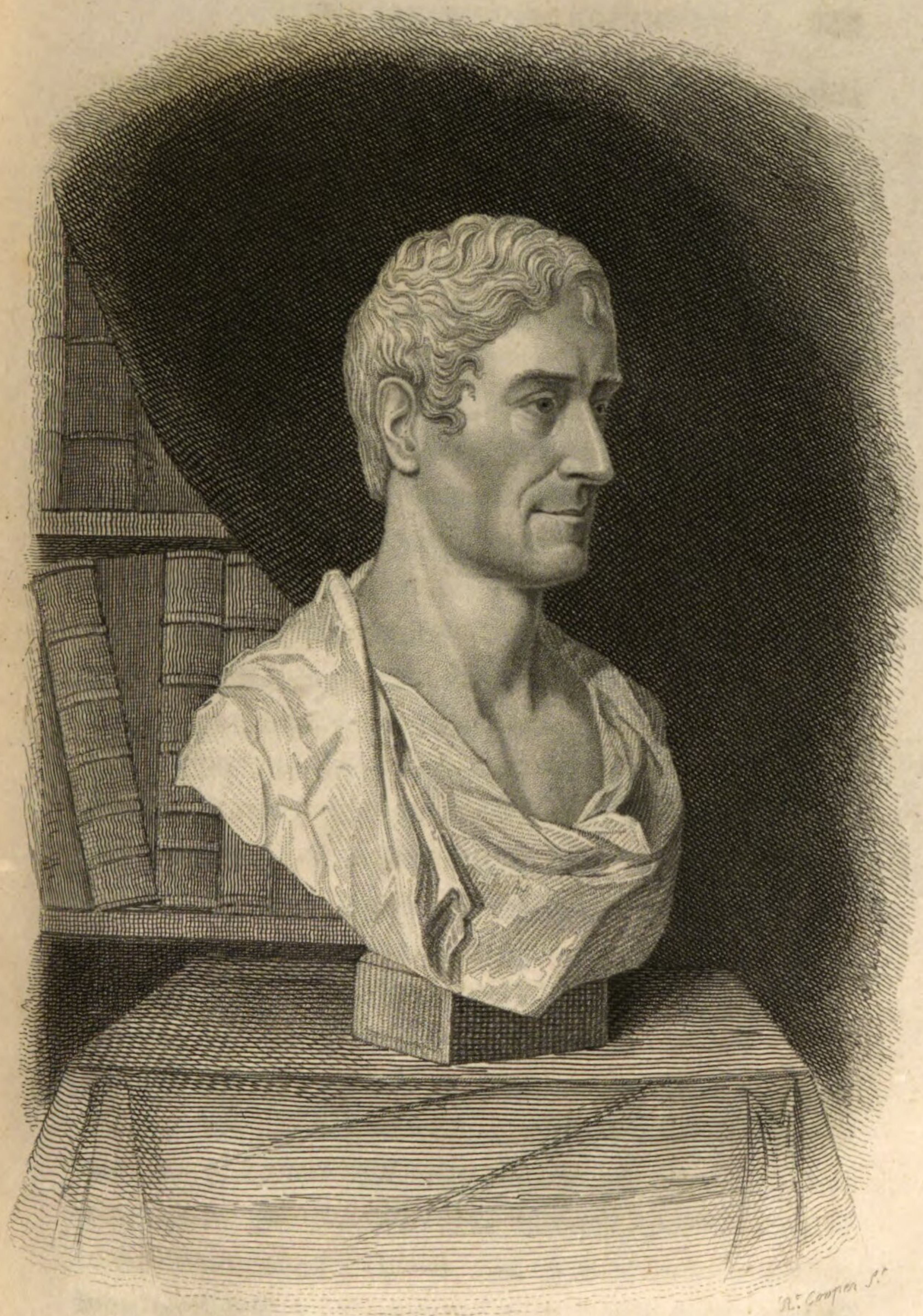
Mr. Brougham said, he should endeavour to express himself on this important question with

candour, with a sincere respect for his honourable friend, and in concurrence with what he conceived to be the feelings of the country. He would now call the attention of the house to the result of the late negotiations, and the unfortunate failure that had taken place. But although they had failed, he would declare it as his opinion, that in the course of these negotiations not a little had been gained for her majesty. For the only basis on which the queen would consent to treat, was, that of being fully acknowledged in her high rank and title, and this basis, although at first refused, was now fully acknowledged. The only point in which she was always inflexible—that which admitted of no alternative, and for which she looked up to no equivalent, was an unqualified recognition of her rights and privileges as Queen of England; and that recognition was granted before ever the conferences were opened. He should notice another material point which had been gained by her majesty. Without attempting to impute blame to any body, he must say, that the queen, on her arrival lately in this country, was not treated in any way with that respect which was due to her exalted rank. But since the commencement of the negotiations, a very different treatment was proposed to be observed towards her; for, instead of being allowed to travel in a common packet, all the pomp, pride, and circumstance, which usually attended the voyages of the highest royal per-

sonages, were now offered to her, in case of her departing from the country. Some persons might say that he overrated those advantages; but these little things were of considerable moment; indeed, they were of as much value, as the omission of them would be a mark of degradation. In this instance, therefore, a material point had been gained. There was another circumstance, however, where no small advantage was gained. If the queen was not to be recognised at foreign courts, something very nearly approaching to such recognition was conceded to her. In whatever country she should reside on the Continent, she was to be announced to the court of that country by the representative of the sovereign, as queen of England, and there to be treated as such. And last of all, there was a further proceeding, which he did not consider as immaterial; that was the consent given, that addresses should be presented to the king and queen by both houses of Parliament; and that these addresses should be presented to them together. Now, would any gentleman recollect that four months ago there was no possibility of getting the gentlemen opposite to mention the name of the Queen. She was then called an "Illustrious Personage"—"a Person of high Consideration"—"a Great Lady"—"a Lady of Great Distinction"—"a Lady of high Character, whose interests were deeply connected with this or that question," with fifty other studied periphrases, for the purpose of

avoiding that word now so ready in all mouths—
“The Queen.” Nothing was now heard of but—
“The Queen,”—“Her Majesty’s Rank,”—“Her
Majesty’s Dignity,”—“Her Majesty’s Honour,”—
“Her Majesty’s Law Advisers,”—“Her Majesty’s
Rights,” and so on. Now her Majesty was to have
yachts for the channel, frigates and ships of war
for the Mediterranean, or to go to and fro as she
pleased; and last of all came the address of his
honourable friend, in which her majesty was, ad-
mitted to possess all the rights and privileges of
queen. This address was to be carried to the foot
of her majesty’s throne, thanking her in the name
of Parliament for her most gracious condescen-
sion. However, the queen’s advisers might have
resolved to proceed upon the inquiry, and to open
the green bag, he would ask, whether it behoved
Parliament to sanction the queen’s resistance,
until a step further was granted. It had been
said, that the question of the Liturgy was not so
much a *sine qua non*, as a thing that ought not to
be contended for. He could at once supersede
the necessity of this argument. The Liturgy cer-
tainly was not so far a *sine qua non* as not to admit
of an equivalent. Her majesty required such a
basis, as should support her honour and her dig-
nity. When the question of residence came to
be discussed, in the late conferences, it was con-
sidered that, from motives of convenience to the
queen herself, and from the inconvenience which
would arise if two separate courts were held in

this country, it might be more agreeable to her majesty's wishes, and more conducive to her personal comforts to go abroad. The question then was, whether such departure from the country would not be liable to great misconstruction, while charges were still hanging over her majesty, without being rebutted; and whether something was not to be done, in order to prevent such misconstruction of her majesty's conduct. Her legal advisers, therefore, in order to settle this matter first, required that her name should be restored to the Liturgy. Having assisted at the negotiations, he thought it necessary to state this fact. From what he was in the habit of noticing in various places—from what he could collect to be the sense of that house, and from the overwhelming majority which was known to exist in favour of the queen among the people out of doors, he was sure that the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy would render the success of a negotiation certain, without the possibility of any dishonour to her majesty. He solemnly assured the house, that this very thing would produce all the effect that could be wished for, and he was sure that it was the only remaining obstacle towards an accommodation. By placing the name in the Liturgy, every obstacle would be surmounted. This was a fact which he had no more hesitation in asserting, than that he was now standing on the floor of that house. Without meaning to throw any blame against



T. DENMAN ESQ^R M. P.

Her Majesty's Solicitor General.

ministers to whom he had been so often opposed in that house, he must, in common with numbers of others, express his deep regret at the omission of her majesty's name in the Liturgy; but by how much the more the act ought not to have been done, by so much the more ease it might now be undone. It might now be with every kind of propriety undone, on the ground that the doing it was not only impolitic, but illegal. There was no law in the country which gave a power to the king to alter the Liturgy by an order in council. The law said, that in all prayers relating to the royal family, the names should be changed from time to time, and fitted to the present occasion. Nothing more was done than this: than at the demise of one sovereign, the name of another was inserted; and instead of Queen Charlotte, the words Queen Caroline ought now to stand in the Liturgy. This he conceived to be sufficient for Parliament, to enable it to get out of the great difficulty in which it was now placed. It was no answer to his argument to say, that the queen was prayed for along with the other members of the royal family. Whether the exclusion of the name did or did not exclude her majesty from the prayers of the church, was not the question now to be considered; for it did not follow that the king ought to have ordered that exclusion to take place. The real question was, whether the act was not unlawful and unconstitutional. In matters of this kind, every thing was a degradation

which was contrary to old established usage. Former Queens of England had always been prayed for by name, and to cease thus to pray for a queen, could only tend to degrade her in the eyes of the world. The allusion that had been made to the Queen of George I., was only an offensive aggravation of the wrong that had been done in the present instance. His honourable friend had said that the duke was not prayed for by name; but it should be understood that the Duke of York was only heir presumptive to the crown; and that, as circumstances might occur by which he would cease to be heir presumptive, it would be an awkward thing to pray for him by name, and afterwards take his name out of the Liturgy. But if his royal highness was heir apparent, the case would be quite different. There was no instance however, of the wife of the sovereign having been struck out of the Liturgy. The Queen Consort of this kingdom was invested with very high and peculiar prerogatives; she enjoyed many privileges above all other women; and what was most important for the house to consider, she ought to be viewed as the stock which the people of the country were to look up to for the continuance of the royal line, and for the preservation of the line of succession to the throne. He was not alluding to the present queen; he was speaking of the Queen of England generally, and if by any sort of degradation a suspicion were to fall upon a Queen of England, the greatest evils might fall on the na-

tion, in case of a disputed successor to the throne. Every possible protection should, therefore, be afforded to the queen ; and every care should be taken that the succession should not be tainted even by the suspicion of a spurious offspring. Yet, in opposition to those sound constitutional principles, see what the ministers had done. The king and queen were living separate ; it was possible they might come together again ; no matter whether the queen was fifty-two or twenty-two years of age. While thus separated, an order in council was issued for degrading her, and an imputation thrown on her character, which might bring into dispute the succession to the throne. The same thing might be done with any other queen ; and every body must see how contrary it was to the fundamental principles, and the safety of our constitution. As ministers, then, were the authors of this act, he called upon them to undo it. Let the concession that was now required come from them : it would be no more than making an atonement for their error. The queen could not accede to any thing until this concession was first made ; for if she did, she was degraded every Sunday, in every church in England. He cared not whether foreign countries knew this omission in our Liturgy or not ; it was sufficient that the injury was known all over this kingdom. His proposition was, to carry an address to the foot of the throne, for the restoration of the queen's name in the Liturgy. Why should ministers be afraid to carry this ad-

dress? Let them not fear that any such act of justice would lead to their discountenance by the king, for he was too noble to feel any resentment towards them for what they should do on such an occasion; and if they should be displaced for such an act, let them not be afraid that it would cause the loss of their places; for after such a generous act, he wished to see the men who would be so rash or presumptuous as to take the places from which they were removed, for an honest and conscientious discharge of their duty. What he had said was this, and he called upon any man in the house to controvert it—that if complying with the wishes of the House of Commons, any set of ministers were to lose their places, he should like to see the man that would accept power, after having refused to comply with these wishes. He would fain hope that the house had got to the close of those preliminary discussions; and that any further agitation of it should take place only with a view to a conclusive adjustment. He fervently prayed that this was the last time that any preliminary business would be discussed. He entreated the house to consider how the matter stood at that crisis. The house was going on from day to day revolving this most unpleasant subject, and nothing final was doing. We are going on from day to day; but something else is going on elsewhere. Much irritation—great and serious discontent—factious intermeddling—much misrepresentation of facts to factious pur-

poses—all this, I will not say has happened, but by every day's delay is rendered more probable and imminent. I express my hope, therefore, that these discussions will terminate from the sincerest conviction of the public interest, as well from my private feelings, to which it is so painful day after day to be compelled to differ from so many of those persons whom I respect.

Lord Castlereagh declared, that there never was any reluctance on the part of ministers to recognize the Queen of England under all those circumstances, which by right belonged to her. They had at once acknowledged her as *de jure* Queen of England, and he begged to recall to the attention of the house, that when the arrangements for the royal family came under discussion at a former time, he (*Lord Castlereagh*) had stated to the house that he should feel it his duty to propose some provision for the late Princess of Wales, then become Queen of England—so that her capacity as queen was never once disputed. Again, when the propositions which ministers had deemed it their duty to have proffered to her were submitted to her, they were submitted to her as Queen of England, calling upon her for a surrender, not of her legal capacity of queen, but of those circumstances belonging to her elevated situation, which it had been thought advisable she should lay down. It could not be therefore imputed, with any justice to ministers, that they delayed to acknowledge the alteration

in her majesty's circumstances. If the honourable member felt that the insertion of her majesty's name was of such importance as he seemed desirous of making the house believe—then, indeed, he must have been the most supine, or the most feeble of advisers, if he suffered the resolution of the council, by virtue of which the exclusion had taken place, to sleep upon their books for forty-eight hours, without one effort to vindicate the privileges or the rights of her majesty, which this omission might be supposed to violate. Even when the exclusion had been on a former occasion, brought under the attention of the house, what was the language of the learned gentleman? Why he (Mr. Brougham) declared in his place in Parliament, that the complaint of the omission of her majesty's name, was too insignificant for a thought; that it was a trifle light as air; and that the only question which the house ought to consider as worthy of their serious notice was, what was the legal character of her majesty? The honourable and learned member manifested uneasiness, even that it should be thought necessary to urge the insertion of her majesty's name in the Liturgy, for that she was *de jure* queen, and the insertion or omission of her name in the Prayer Book, was a matter wholly irrelevant to her right to be treated as queen. Would the honourable member attempt to deny this? Would he attempt to say, that he held a different opinion from that which he had

expressed ? If her majesty's confidential servants thought the insertion in the Liturgy of so much moment, why did they permit the ministers of the crown to enter upon the negotiation under a delusion ? He had reason to complain that the honourable and learned member opposite (Mr. Brougham) had acted upon what he should call a system of tergiversation upon this question ; in having first assigned certain points as the basis of accommodation, and then brought others forward without any previous intimation whatever. From such a system no satisfactory adjustment could possibly be anticipated. His majesty's ministers had never refused any thing which they were not still prepared to refuse ; nor had he at any time given any council to the crown which he should be disposed to retract. (The noble lord sat down amidst loud and continued cheers.)

Lord Archibald Hamilton did not see that any good could result from the proposition now before the house. The extent to which that proposition went, was this, that the party injured should be still further injured : and that the ministers, by whom the injury was done, should claim of her majesty a paramount acquiescence, in order to entitle her to partial relief. He had intended before to offer a proposition to the house upon this question, but was restrained by the honourable gentleman on the Treasury bench, who talked of delicacy, and urged the propriety

of abstaining from public disclosures. But to him it certainly appeared that her majesty would gain infinitely more from any public exposition of facts, than she could by this resolution. There was one point in the speech of his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) which deserved particular attention. It was this—that if the house should give an opinion that the queen ought to be restored to the full possession of her rights, it would be a disrespect, not to his majesty, but to his ministers, who had advised their being withheld. The king, acting under their special advice, could not be responsible in the affair. They had not, it was true, advised his majesty to strike the queen's name out of the Liturgy, but they had advised its being omitted, which amounted, in effect, to the same thing, so far as her dignity was concerned. But the noble lord had said, that under the term royal family, her majesty was regularly prayed for; so was his majesty under the same designation. But there was still an express mention of his name in the Liturgy, and if it should be an injustice to omit it with respect to him, he saw no reason why it would not be equally so, as the case applied to the queen. The noble lord then moved an amendment, the purport of which was, that the house felt sensible of the pain which the relinquishment of any of her rights must occasion to her majesty; and felt convinced, that the insertion of her name in the Liturgy would be the

means of preventing the necessity of an investigation which, however it might terminate, must be as distressing to her majesty's feelings as it would be derogatory to the dignity of the crown, and the honour of the nation.

Mr. Denman said, that no tergiversation, as the noble lord would represent, ever took place on the part of her majesty's advisers with regard to the question now under consideration. He could recall circumstances to the mind of the noble lord which must convince him of the truth of this assertion, and make him retract the statements he had made. That both parties had met on the basis that her majesty was to reside abroad, he was not disposed to deny; yet he had said, in the first instance, when this proposition was made, that he should not feel satisfied if her majesty was not put in complete possession of her rights as queen, and treated with that respect in foreign states to which from her high rank she was entitled. Another mode of adjustment was then proposed, and perhaps her majesty's advisers had gone too far in meeting the views of those with whom they had to treat; but certainly they had never deviated in the least from the fixed principle they had laid down when agreeing to her majesty's residence abroad. It was true, that the question of the Liturgy had not been mentioned, nor did he think it necessary, because he believed that the express mention of her majesty's name was absolutely comprehended in her

rights as Queen of England. This argument he should always maintain, and should be ready to debate the question over and over again, upon the grounds that her majesty's name must necessarily be restored to the Liturgy, by her rights and privileges as queen being recognised. If the king had his place in the Liturgy, it was no less a principle of right that the queen should have her's likewise. As to the case of the queen of George I. to which allusions had been made, it was not at all in point. She had been guilty of certain practices in Hanover, which compromised her character, and was never considered as Queen of England. On the continent she lived under the designation of Princess of Halle, and though the Prince of Wales had afterwards called her to to this country for the purpose of embarrassing the government of his father to which he happened to be opposed, still she was never recognised in any other character than as Electress of Hanover. With respect to the instances of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cumberland, whose names had been erased from the Liturgy, they were equally inapplicable; and the rule as it referred to them, would have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Exclusions of this description reflected but little credit on the royal family; and if there was any case in which there ought to be a spirit of conciliation and forbearance, it was when differences existed about praying to the Great Father of

Mercy, to whom all ought to make their appeal; and whose forgiveness some who were now present might feel themselves called upon to implore, for the injuries done to the illustrious individual whose cause he so humbly advocated. The noble lord, however, would have it, that her majesty was of course prayed for in the prayer for the royal family. Admitted; what then? As well might the noble lord have said, that her majesty's name was included in the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men. This was quite as good an answer as he could make to the singular proposition of the noble lord. The noble lord had said, that the omission of her majesty's name, was a measure decided upon by the king himself in his closet. Who was the king in his closet? He knew of no king in his closet existing in this country. During her majesty's residence in Italy, no notification of the death of the late king was made to her majesty; yet though no information of events in England was given to the queen, it was not for want of a facility of access to the country where she then resided, as was proved by the fact of the *Milan Committee* having been then sitting, and in regular communication with the cabinet at home. That committee made its report, and was it not, he would ask, an eternal stigma on the laws and administration of the country, if, upon such report her majesty had been held guilty, without affording her the opportunity of vindicating her honour. If there

were not good and substantial grounds for the proceeding adopted, it was one of the most flagrant violations of justice and daring assaults on freedom, that any minister ever yet had the hardihood to recommend to an arbitrary government. What was it that was done in this case? Her majesty had been prejudged—she had not been confronted with the witnesses against her. Her guilt was taken as certain, and she was thus left without the power of openly proving her innocence. But what right was there to presume upon her criminality in the smallest degree, no charge being made against her? Why was the sword to be held suspended over the head of the queen? The reason was—she had come to England—this was her whole crime. Yes, the grand accusation against her was, that she had come to this country to meet her enemies face to face, and dare them to impeach her. The noble lord opposite had said, that ministers could not now propose to the king a retraction of steps; or, in other words, that if their views were not carried into effect they must lose their places. He hoped this assertion had not been in consequence of any previous communication with any party, for then the question would be, not whether the queen was guilty or not, but whether ministers were to lose their places. It was hardly fair or honourable to mix up with the consideration of guilt in a woman these political speculations. If there was an imputation of guilt, her

majesty was ready to meet the charge ; she had given proofs of it by her coming to this country. Indeed after what had passed at St. Omer's, she had hardly any option but to come here. There was no other course left her, charged as she was, and the question of whether she had a yacht, or a palace, was of minor importance compared with that. However, it could not be concealed that her majesty must have contrasted her reception in 1820, from that she had met with in 1795, when she first came to this country. He wished much things had not led her majesty to draw this melancholy contrast, and he applauded the feelings of the people, who shewed so much enthusiasm towards a fellow woman. Why should it be charged upon her, that she came hither in a hired packet, or took up her lodging at a private house ; it was no fault of her's, it was a consequence of the system of measures adopted by ministers towards that high personage. Why lay to her charge that she overlooked the punctilio of form due to her station ? All this she was content to risk ; she only recollected that she was in the nature of one accused ? Having endeavoured to point out the injustice to which her majesty was exposed, he would conclude by leaving her case with confidence in the hands of the members of that house, convinced, that as gentlemen, and men of honour, they would feel the full force of such an appeal.

Sir Francis Burdett said he should endeavour to

look at the question with an unprejudiced mind, and abstain from saying a word that could be construed into the expression of want of respect to either party. The honourable mover of the address had, in his opinion, given a very erroneous view of the subject. The house were not in a dilemma. There was no possibility to their consenting that the green bag should be opened, consulting, as they did, the interest of the royal family and the public. As to the question regarding the insertion of the queen's name in the Liturgy, whether that was a matter of right or not, was of no importance. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had at one time said, that no insult was intended by the omission; and soon after admitted that there was, by declaring that the measure was adopted in consequence of the charges contained against her in the green bag, which were upon the vilest authority. The noble lord had advised the omission upon those grounds, and then was surprised that her majesty had objected to it. After having used all the circumlocution of which he and his colleagues were masters, to avoid calling her majesty the queen, ministers wondered at her demanding that point of honour, which it would be better for her to yield every thing than for a moment think of giving up. Now he who held a threat in one hand, and a bribe in the other—what was to be thought of him? Her majesty knew nothing of the process which was intended to be instituted against her; but a threat

was held out against her, which she naturally considered a threat against her life. It was, however, conditional. She rejected the condition with contempt. She refused the money which ministers were prodigal enough to offer, and came boldly forward to meet the charge. This was indeed a proof of as great magnanimity as that which had distinguished the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and furnished most powerful presumption of innocence, for she appeared in England under an imputation sufficient to break any spirit. The noble lord denied that a bribe had been offered. This was something like one of the characters in a play—*Foigard*, he believed—who was asked by a girl, whether taking money is not bribe, and said, “If you take money first, it is a bribe; but if you take it afterwards, it is only a remuneration.” Ministers acted on this principle, but her majesty rejected their remuneration. Then they came down with their green bag. Now, if they had made up their minds to pursue the threatened course—if they had advised the king to pursue it, there could be no means of retracting it—there was no possibility of an alternative: for, if there was the possibility of an alternative, there could be no justification. When he considered the misfortunes of this high-minded and unhappy lady, placed as she was in a situation which afforded her no defence such as other women were able to command, without control of any kind, and broken from almost all connection

with her family, he could not hesitate to declare, that if she had misconducted herself in the manner attributed to her, there did not exist a person with the feelings of a man who would not shed tears of pity, instead of pursuing her with an arm of vengeance under the mask of friendship. The king he believed to be incapable of conduct so little calculated to keep up the dignity of the crown. For his majesty there was a variety of excuses. Who could tell what the conduct of those pick-thanks and miscreants might have been, who had collected them from sources as vile as themselves. They might have misled his judgment, and irritated his passions. For his majesty there was great excuse; but what apology was there for ministers? There was nothing to blind their judgment; and, if they saw that base persons were whispering in the royal ear, their minds were calm, and they had the additional obligation of an oath to speak the truth to the king. If they yielded to his passions, they were the worst of traitors. If ministers had advised his majesty to send down an accusation in the green bag, they should have considered it in all its parts. It was nothing to them whether she was abroad or not. They were bound to pursue one steady, inflexible course. No, they said, she might riot abroad as much as she pleased, and they would supply her with the means of doing so. It was only when she should come home that the green bag was to make its

appearance. The good sense of the house agreed with him that that bag should never be opened. The moment ministers said the thing was negotiable, there was an end to all inquiry. The honourable mover of the address had said, (but whether that member was in the secret of ministers or not, he could not tell)—that the green bag contained such abominable disclosures of filth as must stifle all morality. It was a strange way of keeping up the dignity of the crown, to place all those things before the public eye! In fact, nothing could be a more hostile course, even supposing the contents to be true. But he believed the green bag to be as false as it was filthy. At all events, whether the imputations were true or false, the house could not go into the question, for no public interests were concerned; and, if they were, ministers had shown themselves willing enough to compromise them. He had a right to say they were false. This Pandora's box, without hope at the bottom, whether it contained truth or not, should never be opened. An honest councillor would advise his majesty not to proceed, whatever might have been his impression. But all this was done for no other purpose but that of driving the queen out of the kingdom. Her reply was, that she was determined to be the champion of her own honour, and they might, if they pleased, put their money in their pockets. They were ready to grant her majesty any thing, would she but consent to remove from them the embarrass-

ment of her presence ; but she had come to this kingdom amidst the acclamations of the people, and out of it she never would go under the hootings of her former admirers. It would be better for her to lose twenty lives. Ministers, he believed, had not advised in this unfortunate case. They came down most reluctantly, but they had no alternative. An honest minister would, if he felt a repugnance to any act which his master wished to perform, say candidly, I cannot do it, and not run so dangerous a career as that in which others were engaged. Ministers who screwed their courage to such a course, should take care that their heads did not follow. The queen had acted with great judgment ; she stood in need of no advice, and she pursued the best. If her majesty was fit to be addressed by that house, she certainly was not fit to be the subject of the contents of a green bag ; and, it was extraordinary to him how a minister could come forward with a green bag in one hand, and an address in the other. But the worthy mover had not said where the resolution was to go. It was not known what was to be done with it. Whether or not, the Speaker would be directed to go up with his majesty's ministers to the queen with it. At all events, the address was in good language and respectful, and so far evidence against her majesty being bad. But suppose the queen refused the house—or suppose she refused to answer if she did receive them. In fact, her

majesty could not return an answer. The Government might take her fortune if they pleased, but she could not part with her honour, even though the plan of ministers might be to get an opportunity of sneaking off with their green bag. He protested against any inquiry in the name of the king, the royal family, the queen, and the country. The case could not be proceeded in if the evidence were clear of all reproach. Ministers were compounding high treason, or what was as bad in effect. Was it not conduct like that of the wretch who extorted money by threats of some atrocious charge? Even if the queen had shrunk from the charge, it would have been far from evidence of guilt. He had known men of excellent characters who had given money to escape imputation, and why might not a female have shrunk from so tremendous a charge as that with which the queen had been so basely threatened? The House of Commons could not look at those two parties engaged in a combat nearly mortal, or patiently endure a contest which must be one of destruction? If his majesty's ministers had only treated the queen with common decency—if they had not exposed her to all the insults of understrapping diplomacy, all this would not have happened. What good sense, what policy was there in irritating her majesty—in provoking her to come over to this country, in which her very breath seemed to Government to be pestilential? If she had not been insulted by his

majesty's ministers, she would not have troubled them. Even if all that had been said of her majesty was true, why send spies and pickthanks to take it up, for the purpose of polluting England with it? Why not allow it to remain where it was? There was neither common sense nor common honesty in the proceeding. In the first place, ministers basely complied with wishes which they ought to have contradicted.—Anxious to avoid their constitutional responsibility, they came to that house for advice. That step once taken, it was impossible to retread it. Alarmed at what they had done, when they were brought to the test, and when nothing on earth ought to have tempted them to change their determination, they hesitated, and expressed a disposition to compromise. The queen, that most unfortunate lady, was pursued by one part of his majesty's government for her vices, by another part for her good qualities. She had been called amiable, fascinating, generous, kind-hearted. He who called her so, had talked of his “ardent affection,” of that “ardent affection,” he had given what were surely the strangest proofs! The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) must, of course, be well acquainted with all the information hostile to her majesty, which had been crammed into the bag; and yet, after having consented to lay that bag on the table, he came down to the house, and affected to talk of her majesty as “the life, and grace, and ornament of

society." Her majesty had so many virtues, it seemed, that she could not be allowed to remain in England. Faction had "marked her for its own." The only faction, however, that had done so, was the faction with which the right honourable gentleman had been connected. That faction had once held her up against her husband. Who could tell whether the alienated mind of the king (if alienated it was) might not be attributable to that proceeding? Who could tell what might not have been the consequences of the proceedings of that time when the queen was made use of by a faction, which, having obtained its base purposes, as basely deserted her? The right honourable gentleman, however high his approbation of her majesty, might still think it desirable to get rid of her. But how could he reconcile that approbation with the proposed mode of getting rid of her? If it had been proposed to her majesty to leave the country with all the honours of war, it would have been something; but to send her to the continent by the explosion of the green bag, covered with filth. The honourable baronet concluded by a recapitulation of his arguments, and by again protesting against adopting the dilemma adverted to by the honourable member for Bramber. An investigation founded on the green bag would be fruitless, even for the purpose of those for whom it might be instituted. If her majesty was as deeply dyed in guilt as her bitterest enemies asserted, the people out of doors, if she were con-

victed on green bag information, would believe her to be as white as snow. (The honourable baronet sat down amidst the loudest cheers.)

Mr. Canning declared, that he would abstain from all topics of irritation, decline the invitation to combat thrown out by the honourable baronet, and recall the attention of the house to the question immediately before them—the last hope held out of avoiding an inquiry which so large a part of the house and the country earnestly deprecated. Upon another occasion he should avail himself of a proper opportunity of answering the most boisterous accusers, and the loudest cheers. He assured the house, that if the queen had not returned to this country, all idea of charge would have been given up; but her return left no alternative, and it became necessary either to acknowledge her majesty, and place her in possession of all the privileges of queen, or to show the reasons for not doing so.

Mr. Tierney began by observing, that the speech of the honourable baronet was one which the right honourable gentleman (*Mr. Canning*) could not answer: such a speech degraded the administration, and the right honourable gentleman should wait until its impression had worn away, before he could hope that his arguments would have influence or success. He then proceeded to consider the original resolution, and expressed his regret that he could not vote with member for Bramber, as the motives of every man who did

not were liable to be misconstrued ; but still his sense of duty was superior to his fear of misapprehension. He thought the resolution was of a nature to commit the house. It was right to take into consideration what the opinion of the other house might be, if a similar proposition was laid before it. How it might be received was not to be guessed at. Some time should at least be given which might at least avert some difficulties. He thought the debate ought to be adjourned. If it were adjourned to to-morrow, her majesty's determination could also be known. It would be impossible that an inquiry could be proceeded in, if the resolution was passed. Yet the noble lord had pressed the house for inquiry—had spoken of its absolute and immediate necessity ; and now he declared he would vote for this proposition. Was such conduct consistent, manly, dignified—was it, in short, intelligible ? That noble lord, when he urged an inquiry, would have it to be the only mode which could secure the honour of the crown and the interests of the country ; yet the resolution of the honourable member for Bramber went so far as to say, that an investigation would produce no honour to the crown, and be injurious to the interests of the state. Here were the two opinions diametrically opposite ; yet the noble lord supported each in turn, and surmounted all their inconsistency by a logic peculiar to himself.

Mr. Brougham rose to make some explanations. He said that he was anxious that her majesty

should not be loaded with any new difficulties before her day of trial. He had been misunderstood when he said, speaking of her majesty's name having been omitted in the Liturgy, that it was "a trifle light as air:" he considered the recognition as a trifle; for her claim to that title was clearly independent of such a recognition. She was the Queen of England as long as she was the king's wedded wife, and whether her name was continued in the Liturgy or not, it could not alter this paramount consideration. He did not think it necessary to adjourn, in order to learn the queen's determination, no more than it would be necessary in passing an order of council, to send for instance to America, to learn how it was likely to affect those to whom it applied. It had been said that the queen was soundly advised when dissuaded from returning to this country. He (Mr. B.) had not dissuaded her from returning at all; that question had never been started, but he advised her to suspend her journey for a few days, until a courier should return to St. Omer's from this country. He never advised her to abstain altogether. It had been said also, that the advice which had prompted her to a hasty return was far from being judicious. But he (Mr. B.) verily believed that her only adviser in that step had been her own great spirit. It reflected lasting honour upon her, though it would not have reflected the same honour upon any other adviser. It proved her consciousness of innocence, and her fearless-

ness to her meet accusers. He then said a few words on the proposal from Lord Liverpool to the queen, which had remained with himself for several months without being produced. He said that he had not received it as a communication to be forwarded *quam primus*; but as one on which it would be necessary to have a personal interview. She was at the time, when he received it, in Italy—he could not go there for the purpose of delivering it on account of other avocations, and the necessity of his being on the spot to defend the interests of her majesty, if they should become incidentally the subject of debate. He added, that it was not then the time to relate the extraordinary circumstances which had prevented its delivery by the hands of a noble friend of his, who could have discharged the duty as he ought. He concluded by stating, that the queen could not safely give up those points on which the negotiation had failed.

Mr. C. H. Hutchinson made a long and able statement in vindication of the conduct of his noble relative (Lord Hutchinson), who had made the proposal to the queen at St. Omer's. He expressed also his opinion, that her majesty was badly advised in making a precipitate return to England; but he declared himself hostile to all proceedings by green bags and secret committees. He would vote for none but the most public and open investigation. Some remarks which he made upon what had fallen from Mr. Brougham

relative to lord Hutchinson not having had any official instruction, called up

Mr. Brougham, who declared that he was as anxious for the vindication of Lord Hutchinson's character as the honourable member could be, but the time was not yet come. He had not, as was stated, expressed indignation and astonishment at the proposal made by Lord Hutchinson; but her majesty had done so.

The Speaker put the question, when the amendment of Lord A. Hamilton was negatived without a division. The house then divided on the resolution moved by Mr. Wilberforce: Ayes, 391—Noes, 124. Majority in favour of the original motion, 267.

A conversation now arose as to the mode in which the resolution was to be presented to her majesty.

The Speaker said, the usual mode was to communicate it to some of the officers of her majesty's household.

Mr. Denman hoped it would be conveyed in the most respectful manner; and he was confident it must be the wish of the house to do so.

Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. S. Wortley, Sir T. Ackland, and Mr. Bankes, were then named and appointed to wait upon her majesty, and present to her the resolution of the house.

Mr. Tierney wished to know from the noble lord, if it was to be understood that ministers assented to have the address presented to her

majesty with the usual ceremony observed in addresses to the royal consort ?

Lord Castlereagh thought that the nature of the debate would furnish a proper answer to the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. Tierney : Does the noble lord know where her majesty is to be found ?

Lord Castlereagh said, that was a consideration for the gentlemen who were to present it to her.

The extraordinary interest which is attached to the proceedings of Parliament in this most momentous question, unparalleled in its general nature, and unexampled in its effects upon the peace and tranquillity of the country, imposes upon us the imperious duty of giving the arguments at full, as an almost official character is thereby given to the events as they have arisen, or may in future arise, and many circumstances are thus brought into one focus connected with the illustrious parties, which would otherwise never have been exposed to public investigation. How far that investigation will tend to the establishment of the innocence of the illustrious individual it would be presumption at present to declare ; but there are a few points connected with the preceding debate, which we think it desirable to press upon the attention of the public.

In the first place, it is material to observe, as

an indication of the temper of the House of Commons, that Lord A. Hamilton's amendment was negatived without a division. That amendment had for its object to recommend the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy. This it appears, in the present stage of the proceedings, is the great object of contention; and no one will deny that her majesty justly feels the importance of the restoration of her name in the Liturgy, as without it, she exposes herself to a positive renunciation of her dignity as Queen of England in foreign courts, and to certain indignities in this country from which she ought to be kept exempt. We will simply notice the following instance of the effect of her name not being included in the Liturgy. A short time since, the directors of a well-conducted and excellent institution for the relief of aged and infirm women of good character, desirous of availing themselves of public benevolence in aid of its funds, by the usual method of a charity sermon, applied to the reverend rector of an extensive parish in the city. The reverend gentleman readily granted the use of his pulpit, and not only undertook to advocate their cause himself by a sermon on the Sunday morning, but also prevailed upon the reverend doctor, the lecturer at the same church, to preach in behalf of the society in the afternoon. In the infancy of this society, her Majesty, then Princess of Wales, had been solicited to become its patroness, to which she had not only consented, but

at the same time subscribed liberally to its funds; and to this her early countenance was to be ascribed the subsequent patronage of the late Princess Charlotte, Prince Leopold, the late Duke of Kent, and other branches of the royal family. This patronage was of course acknowledged in all their publications; and in every notice of sermons to be preached in its behalf, the society had uniformly been described as under the patronage of the Princess of Wales. The committee, suspecting no impropriety, accordingly, in their printed notice of these two sermons, announced the society as patronised by the queen's most excellent majesty; but on a copy of this notice, together with the printed account of the society, being transmitted to the reverend rector, as is usual in like cases, a few days previously to the day appointed for the sermon, he not only expressed great surprise at the insertion of her majesty's name, but appeared highly indignant that he should be expected to notice from the pulpit the name of a woman whom the council had forbid him to pray for in the Liturgy, and peremptorily refused to suffer the sermons to be preached unless they withdrew the notice, and circulated others, omitting the queen's name. To this act of ingratitude and injustice the committee were most unwilling to submit; the rector, however, was immovable; other notices were consequently substituted, with the omission, not only of her majesty's name, but, to avoid invidious distinc-

tion, of the names of all the illustrious personages to whose patronage the institution was so highly indebted for its present prosperity.

It has been already stated, that the customary honours were refused to her as Queen of England by the government of Rome, on account of her name not being included in the Liturgy, and as her future abode in an Italian state was at this time in contemplation, it was necessary for the establishment of her future rank at foreign courts, that her name should be restored to the Liturgy. Lord Castlereagh, however, insinuated in his speech, that the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy, appeared to him to be an after thought, as it was not brought forward at the commencement of the negotiation; and therefore it bore the aspect of being introduced for the purpose of throwing a fresh obstacle in the way of an amicable arrangement of the differences.

This supposition of Lord Castlereagh's was, however, satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Brougham the following evening in the House of Commons; when, he said, he trusted that the house would give him leave to supply an omission that he had made on the preceding night, although it was certainly a little irregular. It was an omission which had occurred when the discussion took place, and which was not brought to his mind until this morning, (the 23d,) when he received a communication from her majesty, reminding him of the

fact of having made it. In answer to the question of the noble lord, relative to the point of the Liturgy having been brought forward at so late a period of the negotiation, he ought, undoubtedly, in justice to that illustrious princess, to have explained, that as soon as her majesty knew of the omission of her name, with which she became acquainted upon receiving the Gazette at her place of residence upon the continent, she did immediately address a letter to one of his majesty's ministers, in order to complain of it. This was the state of the fact, and he felt it incumbent on him to bring it before the house. He was bound, at the same time, in justice to all parties, to say, that between the time of such communication from her majesty, and the commencement of the conferences, no mention had been made of the circumstance.

Lord Castlereagh admitted that he had been informed of such a letter having been received by a noble friend of his; he certainly last night did express his wonder at the lateness of the period at which the omission of her majesty's name had been alluded to in the course of the conference; but he would now mention, that the argument he had endeavoured to raise was, not that the question of the Liturgy did not previously exist in her majesty's mind, but that it was not brought on till some time after the negotiations had been entered into;—that, so far as regarded those negotiations, it appeared to have been an after thought.

Mr. Denman begged to say, that the fact of such a letter having been sent on the 15th of March, and of its not having been received until the 29th of the same month, was not known to him until it had been this morning notified to him by her majesty.

So far, therefore, as the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy formed a part of her demands, it appears certain, that her majesty remonstrated against the withdrawing of it, as soon as the omission was made known to her, and she afterwards insisted upon the restoration of it, or an equivalent for it, as a *sine qua non* of the basis on which an arrangement of the differences could be effected. The parliament now asks her to relinquish that point, and that in that relinquishment, the house would not consider that she had compromised her honour, "*but it would be spared the painful necessity of those public discussions, which whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings, disappointing to the hopes of parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.*"

Now it must be admitted that in regard to the *rights and privileges* of the queen, there has been shewn, on the part of the ministers, a kind of lawyer-like quibbling, which hurts their cause, strong as it may be *in their own opinion*. They propose to her majesty to *abstain* from the exercise of the rights and privileges of queen, with certain

exceptions—but they do not call upon her to *renounce any of them*. This is really the *ne plus ultra* of finesse. She is to be queen and no queen—she is to be in possession of certain rights and privileges, but she is by no means to exercise them. Ministers have no doubt in this case the support of majorities in parliament, but he must be very little acquainted with what is passing around him, who does not know that the sense of a very great majority of all ranks and classes of the country are against them. Indeed no question has in an equal degree excited the interest of the public for many years. But the feeling is all on one side. It originates in the love of justice and real regard for the sex, which exists, we firmly believe, in this country in a greater degree than in any other country in Europe. The unmeaning gallantry of the continent, the eternal parade of obsequious attention to females which we meet with whenever we cross the Channel, can only deceive the superficial observer.

It is, however, gratifying to observe, that the king, by the language expressed in the course of the former interesting discussion in parliament, is represented in the light in which he should and does appear to every person of good feeling and common reflection, and which has hitherto been mistaken or misrepresented only by faction, or the most wilful prejudice. The language of Sir Francis Burdett, respecting the painful situation of his majesty, in his personal relation to this

unfortunate affair, did him infinite credit, and Mr. Tierney even considered that the idea of forcing upon the king's feelings a galling retraction, could not for a moment be entertained. If fault has been committed, and we are far from being disposed to attach it to either party without the most mature consideration, it does seem in this instance, to rest solely with ministers, and a fault they do seem to have committed at the very outset. There was too much of petty hostility in their first movements, for they attempted to arrive at their object by the form of official manœuvring through an intermediate agent. Had they communicated directly with the queen—had they ascertained her sentiments—had they negotiated with her on the basis of frankness and moderation—it is highly probable that the scandalous notoriety which has already taken place would have been avoided. But there is a perverse vanity or instinct in man, which tempts him to endeavour to obtain his ends by tortuous means, rather than by a straight-forward course. It is as true in morals as it is in mathematics, that the right line is the shortest from any given point to another.

In the house of peers on the 23d, ministers were not present, but *Lord Grey* rose, and stated, that it had been his intention to put a question to *Lord Liverpool* if he had seen the noble lord in his place, the object of which, was to discover

whether ministers had it in contemplation to alter their course of proceeding upon the question relative to her majesty, or to persevere in the inquiry by a secret committee. His lordship observed that the question had now assumed a character altogether new, that the resolution which had been carried by ministers, aided by a large majority in the House of Commons, declaring an inquiry "whatever might be its result, to be derogatory to the interests of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country," was of itself a strong proof of the impropriety of the course which ministers had induced the house to adopt, as they supported in one house a proposition which condemned expressly what they had attempted to carry into effect in the other. He said that, in the new aspect which the case had taken, if the noble earl to whom he alluded should persist in the committee, he should feel it incumbent upon him to submit a proposition to the house on the following Monday, to meet the altered nature of this distressing and important subject.

It having been understood, from the parliamentary proceedings of the 23d, that the deputation of the House of Commons, appointed to wait on her majesty with the resolutions adopted by the house on that night, would perform their solemn and important duty on the following Saturday, about mid-day, public curiosity was strongly excited to know the result, and accordingly a great assemblage was collected round the

residence of her majesty. The crowd began to assemble at an early hour. It remained perfectly peaceable, and manifested only symptoms of gratification and good humour, till its temper was disturbed, about 11 o'clock, by a man who, from his countenance, appeared to be a foreigner, and who was dressed in that kind of manner which is called shabby genteel. This person, in passing the house of her majesty, threw a short stick at the parlour-window. He was immediately apprehended, and, as he refused to give any reason for having committed the outrage, he would soon have received summary justice from the crowd, had not some respectable persons interfered, and suggested that from his demeanour he must either be intoxicated or deranged. This explanation of his conduct seemed to be satisfactory for the moment, and the defaulter was allowed to be taken unmolested to the public office Marlborough-street, where the motives of his mad act experienced a more deliberate and impartial investigation.

The interest of the transaction which was to take place, and the fineness of the day, continued to attract great crowds to the street in which her majesty resided. By one o'clock an immense multitude had assembled. Portman-street was filled over its whole length from the square to Oxford-street. Noblemen and gentlemen on horseback, ladies in open carriages, and persons of all ages and descriptions on foot, were con-

fusedly mingled together. A considerable number of members of parliament were present, among whom were Lord Sefton, Mr. Calcraft, Sir R. Wilson, Sir H. M'Gowan, Count Antonio, &c., amidst the crowd on horseback. The windows and balconies were filled with spectators of all ages and ranks. Many persons of distinction, and elegantly dressed females were observed amongst them. It would be difficult to conceive a more interesting and enlivening scene than that which Portman-street exhibited, immediately before the arrival of the deputation, and during its stay. The multitude could not be called a mob from the materials of which it was composed, though it displayed all the eager zeal and unanimous feeling by which a mob is usually distinguished. The conduct of the lower class seemed to be regulated by that decorum which the presence of their superiors was calculated to inspire. The only symptom of discontented feeling which manifested itself was on the arrival of the deputation, about a quarter past one o'clock. Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Wortley occupied the first carriage. As soon as they made their appearance, strong feelings of displeasure were indicated by hissing, hooting, and groaning, which continued as the carriages of Sir T. Acland and Mr. Banks drove up to the door. All the four members alighted without any interruption. They were dressed in full court costume, and shewed a proper insensibility to the uncour-

teous manner in which they were greeted by the multitude, who vociferated "No address!" The carriages of the honourable members passed on towards the adjoining square, and the crowd continued in patient expectation for the result of the interview. About three-quarters of an hour intervened between the entrance and the departure of the deputation. When they were introduced to her majesty, she was standing in the drawing-room, attended by Lady A. Hamilton, and having on her right Mr. Brougham, and on her left Mr. Denman, both in their full-bottomed wigs and gowns, as if at court. The folding doors were then thrown open, and the four deputies of the House of Commons in full court dresses entered, and were severally presented to her majesty by Mr. Brougham, who informed her majesty of the places for which they were members. They severally knelt and kissed her majesty's hand. Mr. Wilberforce read the following resolutions, by command of the house:—

Jovis 22, die Junii, 1820.

Resolved—That this house has learned, with unfeigned and deep regret, that the late endeavours to frame an arrangement which might avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two houses of parliament have not led to that amicable adjustment of the existing differences in the royal family which was so anxiously desired by parliament and the nation.

"That this house, fully sensible of the objections which the queen might justly feel to taking upon herself the relinquishment of any points in which she might have conceived

her own dignity and honour to be involved, yet feeling the inestimable importance of an amicable and final adjustment of the present unhappy differences, cannot forbear declaring its opinion, that when such large advances have been made towards that object, her majesty, by yielding to the earnest solicitude of the House of Commons, and forbearing to press further the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference of opinion yet remains, would by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry, but would only be deemed to afford a renewed proof of the desire which her majesty has been graciously pleased to express to submit her own wishes to the authority of parliament; thereby entitling herself to the grateful acknowledgments of the House of Commons, and sparing this house the painful necessity of those public discussions, which, whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings—disappointing to the hopes of parliament—derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.

Ordered—That these resolutions be laid before her majesty.

Ordered—That Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Sir T. Acland, and Mr. Bankes, do attend her majesty with the said resolutions.

J. DYSON.

Her majesty delivered to Mr. Brougham the following answer, which he read by her majesty's command, and delivered it to Mr. Wilberforce:

“ I am bound to receive with gratitude, every attempt on the part of the House of Commons, to interpose its high mediation, for the purpose of healing those unhappy differences in the royal family, which no person has so much reason to deplore as myself. And with perfect truth I can

declare that an entire reconciliation of those differences effected by the authority of parliament, on principles consistent with the honour and dignity of all the parties, is still the object nearest to my heart.

“ I cannot refrain from expressing my deep sense of the affectionate language of these resolutions. It shews the House of Commons to be the faithful representative of that generous people, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid. I am sensible, too, that I expose myself to the risk of displeasing those who may soon be the judges of my conduct.—But I trust to their candour and their sense of honour, confident that they will enter into the feelings which alone influence my determination.

“ It would ill become me to question the power of parliament, or the mode in which it may at any time be exercised.—But however strongly I may feel the necessity of submitting to its authority ; the question, whether I will make myself a party to any measure proposed, must be decided by my own feelings and conscience, and by them alone.

“ As a subject of the state, I shall bow with deference, and if possible, without murmur, to every act of the sovereign authority. But, as an accused and injured queen, I owe it to the king, to myself, and to all my fellow-subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual.”

The members of the deputation then made their obeisance and retired. As their carriages were called for, and as they entered them, they were saluted in the same unceremonious manner as when they arrived. Mr. Brougham accom-

panied the deputation to the door, and soon afterwards left the house in company with Mr. Denman. As the carriage of the learned gentlemen was called, and as they entered it, they were loudly cheered by the multitude, who expressed a desire to take their horses away and to drag them home. This testimony of popular applause Mr. Brougham resisted, and the mob with some appearance of disappointment yielded to his wishes. They, however, asked if her majesty had agreed to the surrender of her rights, and were, it is believed, answered in the negative. When the deputation and her majesty's law-officers had left Portman-street, the multitude, which still continued assembled, began a loud huzzaing and clapping of hands, and calls of "The queen! the queen!" inviting her majesty to appear and receive their applause. Her majesty, obeying the call, appeared on the balcony, and, we need scarcely state, was received with the liveliest enthusiasm. Shouts of "Long live the queen!—God bless you!" continued for several minutes. Her majesty was dressed in a robe of black satin, richly embroidered, and wore on her head a bandeau of laurel leaves, studded with emeralds, and surmounted with a superb plume of feathers. Her majesty looked extremely well. The crowd continued in front of her majesty's residence during the afternoon, and by repeated shouts evinced an enthusiastic feeling in her favour. The report was spread that she had reject-

ed the overtures for any compromise inconsistent with her dignity as queen, and this seemed to add fervour to the affectionate cheers of the people. The same animated scene continued till long after dusk.

The House of Commons resolved on this important occasion to depart from its established practice of adjourning from Friday to Monday, and to meet on the Saturday; and, although the circumstance of the queen having refused to accede to the wishes of the house was generally known, yet so great was the interest excited to ascertain the steps which would be in consequence taken by the Legislature, that on an early hour on Saturday, the vicinity of the House of Commons was crowded by all descriptions of people, and several of the members who were recognised, were rather uncourteously greeted on account of the opinions which they had expressed against the queen.

The house having met at the usual time, some preliminary business was transacted, when Mr. Wilberforce, accompanied by Mr. Stuart Wortley, entered the house. The former was loudly called for; but Mr. S. Wortley took his place at the bar, attended by Mr. Bankes and Sir T. Acland (the deputation appointed), and announced that the deputation appointed to wait upon her majesty had that day delivered to the queen the resolutions of that house, as authorized by their vote, to which her majesty had returned the answer which we have already given.

Her majesty's answer was then read by Mr. S. Wortley.

Mr. Wilberforce, who had also a copy of the answer, and who corrected Mr. S. Wortley, in a few immaterial words in the course of reading it, was called on by the Speaker, carried up the answer to the table, and deposited it in the hands of the clerk.

After which, *General Fergusson* rose and said, as we are now about to enter upon this unhappy investigation, which, according to ministers, so seriously affects the dignity of the crown and the interests of the people at large, we have a right, I think, before we proceed further, to receive some information concerning transactions which have reference to this painful subject. Before we begin the consideration of the inquiry, I beg to ask a question respecting the Milan Commission. Was it a public or a private commission? Was it sanctioned by the legitimate advisers of the crown? Was there a report from it; and if so, to whom was it made? I should also like to know by whom that commission was appointed? and by whom the expense was defrayed? I hope this question will receive an answer from the noble lord opposite.

Lord Castlereagh—I hope the honourable and gallant general will excuse me, on the present occasion, for reminding him, that when we agreed to meet to-day, it was specifically understood by the honourable and learned gentleman opposite

(Mr. Brougham) and I believe by others, that we were not to meet for discussion, but merely to receive the queen's answer. As we are to enter upon this subject on Monday, and as it may perhaps be necessary that the public should see the whole extent of this painful subject, I do hope that it will not be expected of me now to say one word more that can lead to premature discussion. I must therefore decline answering the honourable and gallant general's question at the present moment.

Mr. M. A. Taylor protested against the doctrine laid down by the noble lord, that his agreement with any honourable member was to be admitted as a bar to any inquiry which others might think proper to make. The question was a very proper one, and he thought the noble lord was in duty bound to give it an explicit answer. He need not, of course, unless he chose; but as he had said that the house was now to know the extent of the question, for the purpose of guarding better against its consequences, he thought it but proper that an answer should be given to so serious a question as that put by his honourable and gallant friend. It related to an occurrence which had either arisen from an authorized or unauthorized agency. It was either the act of Government, or the under-hand dealing of others. In either case it was material to know, whether the transaction had been adopted by responsible authorities. His view of the matter was this:—If ministers

saw any disposition elsewhere to act exclusive of their advice upon so momentous an occasion—if they saw any steps taken, which they could not with consistency and in conformity with their duty encourage, they were bound to give advice to that effect to their royal master; and if that advice were not received in the manner they thought it was entitled to, it was their duty to resign. He did assure the gentlemen who had just indicated their feelings, that he spoke disinterestedly; for so far from having a wish that his friends, or the gentlemen who surrounded him, should get into place, he thought it impossible that a greater curse could befall them, or a greater calamity visit them, than to succeed to the places of the present ministers, in the state of misery to which those ministers had by their counsels reduced the country. For their august royal master, from whom he had been now separated for years, he entertained the highest friendship, if he dare speak in such terms of his sovereign, to whom he yielded in respectful duty to no man. If the noble lord (Castlereagh) could resume his gravity, he would tell him that he (Mr. Taylor) spoke feelingly from his sense of the state of the country, and not from any spleen that could be supposed to arise from his having been separated as it were from that sovereign, perhaps by the counsels of that noble lord. He spoke out honestly, and under an imperious sense of his duty as a member of parliament. If in what he had

uttered were any expressions personally hurtful to the feelings of the illustrious individual, he was ready to beg pardon—but not of the noble lord. He could assure the noble lord, that he was grossly mistaken if he thought he could embarrass him (Mr. Taylor) by any thing which he could do. He repeated it, that he lamented to see that illustrious individual in the hands of the noble lord and his colleagues. The noble lord smiled again. Had the noble lord preserved his grave looks, he (Mr. Taylor) would have sat down long ago. He insisted on it, that the question of his honourable friend was perfectly proper; and if no answer should be given to it, it would carry a conviction to his breast, that there was something in the Milan Commission so odious and objectionable, that the noble lord would not dare to own it. He strongly objected to any compromise on the part of his honourable friends. He thought it highly improper for the house to be ruled in its conduct, in an affair of such importance, by the decision of two or three individuals.

Sir R. Wilson did not wish to provoke discussion, but he felt it necessary to ask the noble lord if the adjourned debate on the king's message would be resumed on Monday, or if it was intended by ministers to insist on the appointment of a secret committee? He asked for the purpose of obtaining information for his constituents, who were anxious to seize the opportunity, if any

should offer, to express their objections to that mode of proceeding, by way of petition to the house.

Lord Castlereagh declined giving any answer to any further question.

Mr. R. Martin said, that no man was more disposed than himself to feel for the infirmities of human nature. Accordingly he felt great commiseration for the infirmities which had been displayed by the gentleman who had spoken last but one. His speech was just such a one as he (*Mr. Martin*) should have expected to hear from a minister newly discarded from office, on addressing his successors. He protested against the speech altogether; which, besides that it had nothing to do with the business before the house, was for the greatest part about himself. It was highly indecorous to be putting questions to the noble lord, especially when it was known to be the feeling of the house, that there ought to be no discussion.

The house then adjourned; but numbers collected in groups to read the queen's reply again, and it was a considerable time before the crowd, which had been immense, completely dispersed.

We will now cast a short glance at the steps by which the transaction has reached its present stage. Certain reports, whether true or false, had come to the knowledge of his majesty, respecting the conduct of the queen during her residence abroad. It has been said, that these

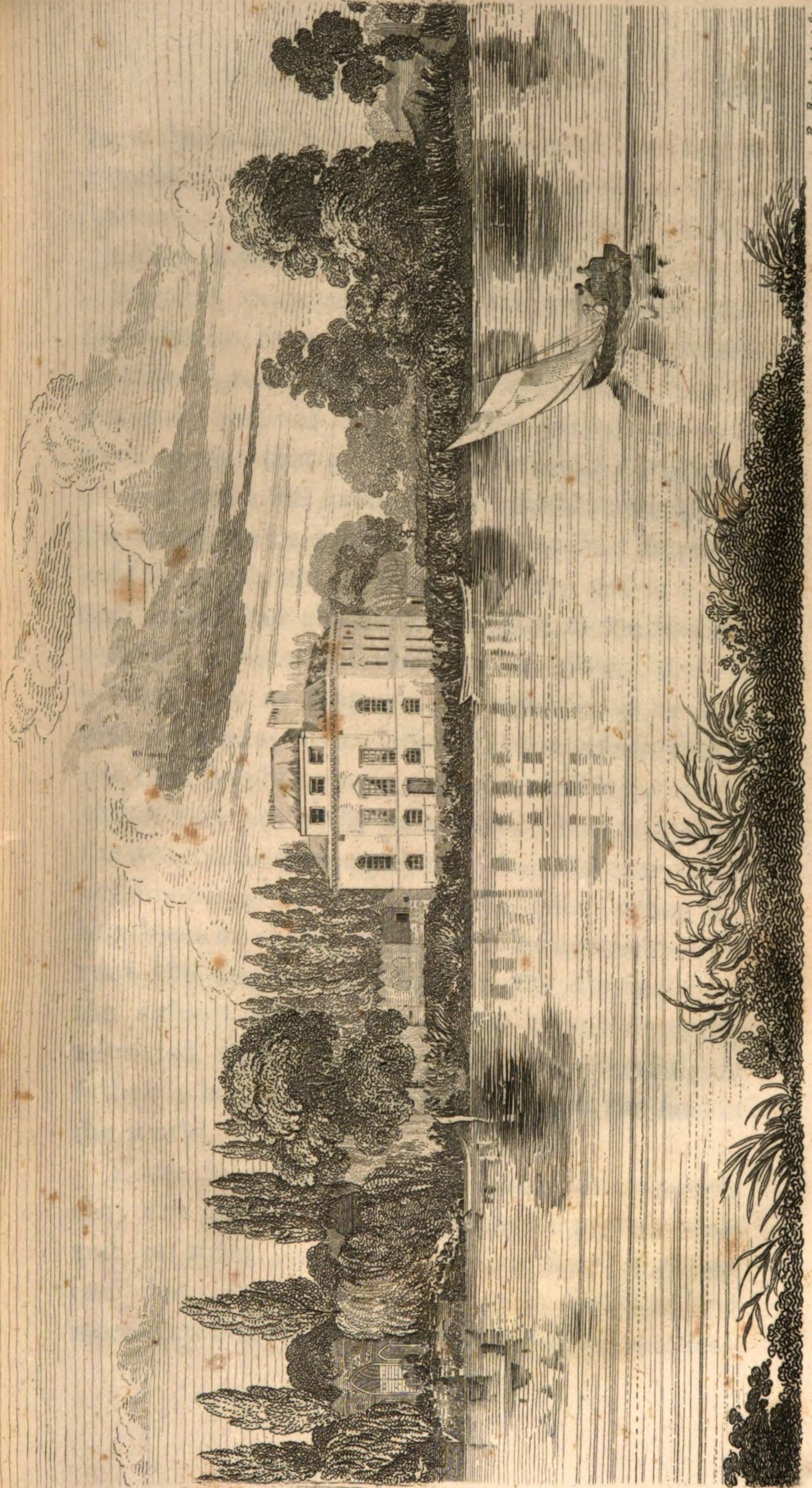
were derived from foreigners, from low dishonourable persons. To obviate this objection, Englishmen of respectable stations in life, of honourable character, were commissioned to procure information. With a most ridiculous inconsistency, this proceeding also has been blamed, and the evidence is impeached in one instance as coming from too low, and on the other, from too high a source. The statements, however, thus obtained, appeared to the eminent persons before whom they were several months ago laid, to be such as would warrant most grave and serious charges against the queen. They, however, felt that unwillingness, since participated in by so large a majority of the legislature, to place her majesty in a state of accusation; they were inclined to sink the very word "accusation," and to treat the matter as one of "differences," unhappily subsisting; and in this view it was unquestionably desirable, that it should have been settled by negotiation with her majesty abroad. She, however, chose to come to England, and they had then no alternative, but to act on the information in their hands. Far be it from us to impute blame to her majesty for the step which she has taken, in resolving to appeal at once to the nation in vindication of her honour, and to support her in the establishment of those rights and privileges which are attached to her exalted station. Innocence is not to be daunted by the threats of power, and although it may for a time be obliged

to succumb to the machinations of the slanderer, yet it will eventually soar superior to every petty artifice, and the shafts which have been so industriously aimed at it, will recoil with triple force upon those who impelled them. The accused individual who braves investigation of the charges adduced against her, who defies her enemies to produce their evidence, and boldly resolves to confront them, stands upon no common ground—she appears almost invested with a sacred character, and her claims are powerful upon every humane and liberal mind. It is the guilty only who fly from the examination of their conduct, for “he is twice arm’d who hath his quarrel just.” The queen’s appeal to the nation stands upon the basis of her innocence, and the whole nation stands pledged to believe in it, until proof “strong as holy writ” confirms the contrary. But notwithstanding the heavy charges brought against her, grounded on oral and ocular testimony, ministers certainly proceeded with the utmost caution. They desired not to institute any hostile proceedings, judicial or legislative, against her majesty, unless their own impression of the ground of charge should be confirmed by the opinion of committees of both houses of parliament.

This measure has been exclaimed against, as unknown to the practice of parliament, and in itself unjust. It is, however, neither; as to the practice of parliament, we find an instance occurring so

early as the 11th year of the reign of Edward III., which bears a remarkable analogy to the present case. In that year, it was agreed in parliament that the bishops of Durham and Salisbury, the earls of Northampton, Arundel, Warwick, and Salisbury, should hear the answer of the archbishop of Canterbury, of divers matters whereof he was defamed through the realm, and if the said answers were suitable, the king would hold him excused; but if it should appear to the king and his council, that the same were insufficient, then the said answer should be debated in the next parliament, and judgment there given upon the same*. It is true, that the archbishop was permitted to give in his answers to the committee of that day; but it is by no means proved that there would be any objection to the queen's giving in her answers to the present committee, supposing that her advisers should think such a step advisable. The main consideration, however, is, that the committees, both formerly and now, were and are merely preparatory and deliberative. They are not a secret tribunal to condemn, but a mere sort of domestic forum, which may discharge, and at the utmost, can only put the party on a public trial. Even this introductory measure the House of Commons earnestly wished to stop, by a mediation certainly honourable to the queen. Her majesty's feelings, sharpened and exalted as they

* Rolls of Parliament, v. 2. No. 44.



BRANDENBURG HOUSE, HAMMER SMITH.
HER MAJESTY'S RESIDENCE.

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have been since her arrival, by the voice of the people, have set at nought the good wishes of parliament, and those consequences must follow which her sincerest friends would have averted.

Several persons, and particularly those who have lately been abroad, think that the lenity and indulgence, these half measures and middle courses adopted towards the queen, are not enough, and that the public opinion of Europe requires that a full examination should either prove the queen to be innocent of the conduct imputed to her, or should separate entirely, and in a formal maner, her character from that of the English nation. Persons of this opinion allege, that in private life, as long as the impropriety or disorderly conduct of an individual is confined within her own family, public exposure and legal vindication may prudently be avoided; but that when the scandal becomes public, when the tongues of neighbours grow busy with the affair, when the blindness or silence of those at home cannot prevent the disgrace arising from the discussion of the subject abroad, then, it has been universally admitted, that the injured husband, or indulgent father is bound to do himself justice in the face of the world.

There is much weight in such observations, they are peculiarly applicable to the present case, and in strict justice we do not know that we can deny them; but when great political and moral interests become involved with private feel-

ings, it is allowable to consider the subject on a principle of expediency, and to temper rigid justice with indulgence and policy.

We perfectly coincide then in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Wilberforce, sanctioned by the House of Commons, and acted upon by the king's ministers from the beginning, in regard to the necessity of getting rid of a scandal with the least possible exposure, and, provided the sacred Queen of England, a character now endeared and venerable to the world, by the public and private virtues of the two last partners of the throne; provided, we say, that character be severed from the imputations to which we allude, of bearing in decent silence the conduct of individuals. The expectations which were thus excited by the avowal of principles like these,—an avowal which spoke the high moral feeling of the British nation; these expectations have now been destroyed by the councils which have been given to her majesty—councils which may call into action the ignorant passions of the vulgar; but their true value will be estimated by every well regulated mind, and it requires nothing but a confidence in our national character, to predict that the indignation of all the better portion of society will be abundantly visited upon those, who have counselled her majesty to reject the mediation of the House of Commons, and thereby to plunge the country in anarchy and confusion.

In consequence of the queen's rejection of the

advice of parliament, ministers saw themselves reduced to the extremity of proceeding to the committee ; and this measure being decided upon, her majesty lost no time in sending down a petition to the House of Lords, appealing strongly against the measures to be pursued against her, and demanding to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house. This petition was presented on Monday, the 26th, by *Lord Dacre*, who in presenting it to their lordships regretted that the illustrious person had not been enabled to place it on the table through a medium better calculated to give weight to the proceeding, namely, through that of the highest authority in the house (the Lord Chancellor). In this petition her majesty complained of the mode of inquiry instituted against her, being a secret committee. She complained that this inquiry respecting her conduct was instituted at a period when she had not time to procure witnesses from the continent. She complained that by this course of proceeding an unfavourable impression might be made against her before she had an opportunity to rebut the evidence brought secretly forward by her accusers. He had never been honoured with her majesty's acquaintance, nor had he the slightest communication with her. Their lordships must be aware that the public opinion was decidedly against an inquiry by a secret committee, the appointment of which was notoriously in the hands of his majesty's ministers. Many of the names

included in the list of that committee were those of noble lords who had already given an opinion on the case. The list contained the names of four cabinet ministers, and of two persons of high station, who must be supposed to have received impressions unfavourable to the illustrious person accused. It was not to be believed that the venerable prelate at the head of the church (the Archbishop of Canterbury), or the noble and learned lord, would have suffered the name of her majesty to be excluded from the Liturgy, had they not admitted that there were grounds for the proceeding.

The Lord Chancellor had no objection to the petition being laid on the table. He had refused to present that petition because it appeared to him better that it should be presented by any other noble lord than by him. He had happened not to know the mode in which such a petition should be presented ; and the journals gave him no information. If he erred in his decision, it was not from any disrespect to the illustrious individual in question.

The petition of her majesty was then received, and read by the reading-clerk at the table as follows :

“ To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

“ CAROLINE R.—The Queen having been informed that proceedings are about to be instituted against her in the House of Lords, feels it necessary to approach your

Lo ips as a petitioner and a fellow subject. She is adv^d ed, that, according to the forms of your Lordships' house, no other mode of communication is permitted. Now, as at all times, she declares her perfect readiness to meet every charge affecting her honour; and she challenges the most complete investigatinn of her conduct. But she protests, in the first place, against any secret inquiry: and if the House of Lords should notwithstanding persist in a proceeding so contrary to every principle of justice and of law, she must in the next place declare, that even from such an unconstitutional course she can have nothing to apprehend, unless it be instituted before the arrival of those witnesses whom she will summon immediately to expose the whole of the machinations against her. She is anxious that there should be no delay whatever in finishing the inquiry; and none shall be occasioned by her majesty. But the Queen cannot suppose that the House of Lords will commit so crying an injustice, as to authorize a secret examination of her conduct in the absence of herself and her counsel, while her defence must obviously rest upon evidence, which for some weeks cannot reach this country. The instant that it arrives she will entreat the House of Lords to proceed in any way they may think consistent with the ends of justice: but in the mean time, and before the first step is taken, her Majesty desires to be heard by her counsel at your Lordship's bar this day upon the subject matter of the Petition."

Lord Dacre moved, in pursuance of the desire expressed in the petition, that counsel be now called in.

The Lord Chancellor having put the question, this motion was agreed to without opposition, and counsel being called in, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Den-

man, and Mr. John Williams, appeared at the bar as counsel for the queen, and Mr. Vizard as solicitor to her majesty.

The petition of the queen was again read by the reading-clerk at the table.

Mr. Brougham: “ My lords, I have the honour to attend at this bar, as counsel for her majesty the queen. I understand it is the pleasure of your lordships, that we should now be heard on the subject of the matter contained in the papers on your table. It might, perhaps, be more consistent with what I owe to my illustrious client, if, feeling the extreme importance of the interests concerned, and sensible of the feeble powers which it falls to my lot to bring to the discharge of such a duty as devolves upon me, I were to intreat your lordships for a few hours’ delay, in order that I might be enabled to discharge that duty with more effect, than can be expected under the circumstances in which I appear before you. But I have the command of my illustrious client to forego all considerations personal to myself, and to encounter all minor risks to which her cause may be exposed, rather than there should seem to exist on the part of her majesty the smallest disposition to delay inquiry, or to impede your lordships’ wishes for an immediate investigation into the charges brought against her. It is the more necessary for me, standing here on the part of the illustrious petitioner, to make this statement to your lordships

of the command of her majesty as expressed to me, because it is above all things important to the interest of her cause, that this application which we make this day should not be understood to be, in the vulgar sense of the word, an application for delay. It is not for a delay of the prosecution that we ask—it is not for a delay of the judgment which must result from that prosecution, and which must be a judgment of honourable acquittal. I say must, because I feel that she is guiltless, and because I feel that you are just. And because she is guiltless, and because you are just, and because the petition is founded on principles of law which must be set at defiance before you can be advised to reject the prayer which it contains, I ask your lordships to consent to that prayer as a necessary step towards the fair and equitable investigation which her majesty is entitled to request at your hands. Her majesty's conduct is about to be brought in question. We have a right to know what proceedings are about to be instituted in the two houses of parliament. His majesty's message, the foundation of those proceedings, states that the bags laid before both houses, contain papers by way of charge against the queen, and that those charges relate to the conduct of her majesty during her residence abroad. What the nature of those charges is—what the nature of the testimony by which they are to be supported is, how it has been raked together, who

have been the tools, or how, or by whom, they have been set at work to procure the evidence or information, as it is called by a figure of speech, but as I must call it more truly, the odious matter contained in the bag, I will not stop to inquire. It is enough for me to know, what I can collect from the message, that whatever may be found in that bag, be it creditable, or be it odious with respect to those from whom it has proceeded, is only meant and intended to impeach the character of the queen by something falsely alleged to have taken place abroad. Now we know that her majesty, while abroad, resided at a considerable distance from this country, that the greater part of the time she passed across the Alps and Appenines, and the smaller part across the Alps; but that during the whole of the time she was placed at so great a distance from the seat of that tribunal before which she is now to appear, as renders it physically impossible to procure the witnesses, depositions, or correspondence, which must be necessary to her defence, at any period within the compass of five or six weeks from this moment. It would require so much time barely to send letters and receive answers; but if your lordships further wait until the witnesses are collected, whose presence is absolutely indispensable, without whom it is impossible that I can cross-examine a single individual of those wretches—, I beg your lordships' pardon, those persons by whose testi-

mony the charges are to be supported—it will require an addition of five or six weeks longer to the time. Do not, my lords—do not let it be said or fancied, nor let it be whispered elsewhere by those who will not state it in their places, and under the public eye, that this is the plea of guilt. My lords, it is the plea of innocence. The more innocent the queen is, the more abominable and base and treacherous those are who are to be brought against her—the more essentially necessary does it become that she should have at hand those witnesses, documents, and communications, which she knows she can have to overwhelm her adversaries with confusion. Reflect upon the peculiarities of her majesty's case, which are not of her own making, but which separate it from other cases by difficulties and embarrassments peculiar to itself. When an Englishman or an Englishwoman is placed in a situation where it becomes necessary that they should defend their characters, and who in the most upright walk of life can be assured, that by foul contrivances he may not be reduced to such a necessity, your lordships will remember, that such Englishman or Englishwoman has one safeguard and shield. The witnesses are all English; there is no foreigner amongst them, whose principles may hang loosely and negligently about him, whose testimony may be doubtful, though it cannot be disproved, who may deny the obligation of an oath, or who, admitting the

obligation, may suppose that his conscience will stand excused in consequence of the want of some sanction which our practice does not require, and our forms do not recognize. What is her next security? The witnesses are her own countrymen. They are known to her—they are known to the judge who tries her, and to the counsel who pleads for her. The press too, is at her hand—it describes the manner in which the witness gave his evidence—his conduct in the court, and those circumstances of manner which have their weight in influencing the opinion as to the credibility to which his depositions are entitled. The third security is, that she has a compulsory process by which she can bring forward witnesses and compel them to speak the truth, however reluctant to do so. Against that process, neither bribes, nor threats, nor promises, nor procurement can prevail. But how is her majesty situated? The witnesses in her case are all foreigners, with whom the obligation of an oath may be relaxed by their belief in the efficacy of subsequent confession. Though I speak before an assembly of bold men—of men, I am persuaded, as bold even as the distinguished Duke of Wellington, in whose presence I perceive that I am also speaking, I do not hesitate to pronounce it as my firm belief, that there is not one amongst you who would not tremble with apprehension if his wife or his daughter was to be exposed to the statements of such a cloud of witnesses. Her

majesty cannot compel the attendance of those who could speak in her favour. They may refuse, and she has no power to force them, nor has she inducements to hold out which may conquer their disinclination. She is not in a condition to be followed. She has been disowned in foreign countries, and neglected at home, so that she is unable to array either by threats or bribe, or force, or fear, or expectation of courtiership, numbers of those upon whose attendance her justification must depend. The witnesses against her are not her neighbours; their characters are not known. They may be persons who care not what they say at home, and who care still less what they say in a remote part of the world. What conscious innocence then must support this illustrious woman, who, under all those circumstances, says to us, "Go on, ask no delay." But it is my duty, and if I neglect it, it is your duty, my lords, as her judges, to see that she does not suffer from her own fearlessness, and that the innocence of an accused party shall not be brought by its natural magnanimity into danger. That is precisely the object of this application. I wish for an opportunity to know more of the witnesses. What I have already discovered of some, makes me more anxious to know more of the rest. Now I will pray any lawyer to tell me—I will beseech any one who has ever witnessed a trial, to tell me, how can I proceed to cross-examine a single witness without knowing something of his neigh-

bourhood, his habits, or his character? To put the case of one who has come to my knowledge. Amongst those who appear against her majesty, is one who has been discharged from her service for having robbed her of four hundred Napoleons. This can be proved by two witnesses: one of them is at Rouen, in France, and he is an English naval officer—no Italian spy—no Hanoverian baron—but an English officer who has bled in the cause of his country. Should not the instance of this individual render me cautious of all the rest, and especially as I have reason to know that the other witnesses can be treated in the same manner, if time is given for inquiry? I ask no favour of your lordships, but justice. I ask you, as the queen's judges, into which you have erected yourselves, whether you will drive me to defend her majesty under the disadvantages I have described? If I demanded any thing which could lead to the suspension of the proceedings, or to delay the result of the inquiry for a single hour, I should immediately abandon that demand, for I should have her majesty's directions to do so. But I only ask you to pause at the commencement, without protracting the conclusion; for, after the Secret Tribunal has reported, you must give time for the production of this evidence; so that whether you agree to it in one stage or in the other, the ultimate result must come when the same hour strikes, in both cases. I am presuming, perhaps I ought not, that after you have deter-

mined on a parliamentary inquiry, and sent the echo of the charges all over the land, with greater or less accuracy, according as the proceeding is public or private (if public with greater, and if private with less)—I have presumed, that her majesty's character being thus blackened by uncontradicted statements and reports, you will, out of the exuberance of your justice, allow some delay to enable her to bring forward the evidence on which she relies for her acquittal. I have assumed this, because there is no court of justice, whether in England or at Milan, in which such an application could be resisted. If you are British judges, it is impossible that you can refuse it. If you refuse it I am bound to say that you cannot deserve the character. I submit to your lordships, whether you will now permit the delay required, or whether you will delay the permission until it is too late to answer the purpose for which it is intended, as it must be if you postpone it, till the preliminary investigation has taken place. All I ask is, that you will not proceed to hear the cause, in a manner which must lead to the condemnation of any individual, however innocent. I ask for that which every British court of justice must grant, where no one can be put upon his trial without being allowed time to bring forward his witnesses, and the refusal of which, the most innocent man who hears me, must feel to operate as a sentence of outlawry from his country. I have a right to assume from

the votes of Parliament, and to cite the authority of one branch of the legislature, as at least worthy of attention, that we are now about to enter on an investigation, which one branch of the legislature has pronounced 'distressing to the feelings of her majesty, disappointing to the hopes of Parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.' I feel the more confident, when I reflect on this, that in an investigation which the House of Commons has so described, the delay of two little months will not be considered too great an indulgence for the purpose of furthering the ends of justice, and providing that a legal murder should not be committed on the character of the first subject in the realm.

Mr. Denman.—My lords, perhaps I should best consult the interests of my illustrious client, if I were to leave her cause to the powerful impression already made; but there are some circumstances which, perhaps, require one or two observations from me. As I happened to be the person who brought down the petition, in the absence of my learned friend, I may be permitted to express my confidence that I was not guilty of any aberration from the forms of the house, or the principles of justice, in the course which I adopted. I did not suppose that any considerations of a personal nature could exist, to render it unfit for me to ask, as a favour, from any peer of parliament, that he would present the petition with which I

was intrusted. It did not appear to me, from any similar case, that the cause was one which could interfere with the preliminary proceeding, whether the house was to exercise the capacity of a grand jury, or any other within its functions to assume. The task of apologizing does not rest with him who only presents a petition for consideration; but those who refuse such a petition are bound to shew upon what principle they act in a manner so derogatory to the practice of the British parliament. If there is any difficulty in the case of a queen appealing to the House of Lords, I have no doubt that, as a subject of the realm, she has a right to be heard by petition against any doctrine or practices, by which her life or character might be endangered. It is difficult to know how to proceed in a case of anomaly, such as the present. When I look forward to the consequences, I find myself totally in the dark, contending against shadows and clouds. It is impossible to say, but that the mode of impeachment may after all be determined on as the most proper to bring the supposed offender to justice. On the other hand, I am aware that another mode of proceeding may be adopted, namely, a bill of pains and penalties, which, pushed to its extremity, attaches exile, infamy, and even death. In either case, it is important that the prayer of the petitioner should be complied with: for whether your lordships attend to the evidence on the prosecution of the House of Commons, or whether you proceed

to investigate by a committee of fifteen peers, you should be prepared against the existence of any improper bias. To have an impression made on the minds of fifteen peers, by the contents of the green bag, to pause for a length of time on the poison, and, finally, to pronounce judgment upon honour of guilt or innocence, is a course of proceeding from which it is impossible but that the most honourable mind must receive a taint. I will not allude to the vile, abominable manner in which the evidence has been scraped together; but I will put the case, how very likely it is, after the separation which every one must regret, that persons would come forward to volunteer such evidence as they might suppose to be agreeable. But if, in addition to those volunteer witnesses, there are others, of the description given by my learned friend in his account, of which he seems to have had in view the language of the poet—

“Some cogging, cozening slave, to get some office,

“Hath devis’d this slander!”—

how much more necessary is it to accede to the prayer of the petition? It is under these circumstances that we request your lordships to pause, and not postpone, for your ultimate decision will experience no delay, and no difficulty will be opposed to the speedy termination of this awful proceeding. Nothing can be more fatal to justice, than that a cause should be half heard. Another matter of importance to justice is, that

the proceedings should be simultaneous, for where they are not so, a door is opened to subornation of perjury, through the under agents. When I look round on this illustrious assembly, and consider my own feeble powers, I cannot conclude better than by a quotation from a predecessor of your lordship: "A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys, and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal, that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground."

Mr. Williams was then about to address the house, when

The Lord Chancellor interposed, and stated that it was contrary to the practice of Parliament to hear more than two counsel on the part of any petitioner.

The Earl of Liverpool moved that the petition be taken into consideration to-morrow, in order that they might have twenty-four hours to consider the powerful arguments that had been urged.

After a short conversation across the table, between Earls Grey and Liverpool, the motion was agreed to, on an understanding that Earl Grey would bring forward his motion on the same day, if the prayer of the petition was not agreed to.

The proceedings in the Commons were yet more various.

Lord Castlereagh rose to address the house on the subject of the adjourned debate on the king's message. The house would recollect, that on the first night of the discussion on this question, the adjournment was not proposed in order to see what shape the proceeding to be adopted should take; but for the purpose of entering into a negotiation, in the hopes of averting altogether the necessity of taking any steps on the papers then before them. Without attempting to pass obloquy on any party, he must say that he did feel that there were certain strong grounds for adopting the course then taken. Her majesty had intimated her readiness to yield her judgment up to the guidance of Parliament. From the commencement of the negotiation, too, it had been understood that the moment her majesty was restored to her dignity as queen, she should consider any other arrangement as of secondary consequence; and in effect, that *sine qua non* having been granted, two intermediate persons had been appointed, to whom were intrusted all other matters of interest, patronage, or income. After such indications, he should have thought that her majesty would yield herself to the anxious wishes of Parliament. Yet in a most authoritative tone she had rejected what had never before been done by any part of the same illustrious family which now filled the throne of this country. Our history

might be searched without finding a case wherein this, or any other family, had ever been found so to treat the request, so tendered, of that house. He did not state this in a tone of reproach, but the house could not but feel chagrined to have their counsel rejected, when they addressed the crown on a question deeply involving the interest of the country, of a nature so serious and sacred. On such an occasion would the house not have desired to know who was the minister who had dared to advise the crown against the recommendations, and in the very face of the house? But it was one of the many excellencies of the Constitution under which we live, that what no minister would dare to advise, an individual might with impunity venture to adopt. That illustrious individual might repent the step which had been taken. It certainly was as serious an appeal as ever was made to any member of the House of Brunswick; and after that, he apprehended all that remained for them to do was, to see what course of proceeding was best calculated to put the matter in a train of judicial investigation, now that they had done all that they could to avoid that alternative. Now, therefore, that the case was fairly established on its present altered state, it became his majesty's ministers to make some alteration in the mode to be pursued respecting it; and if Parliament could consent to receive a direct proposition from them, containing a definite statement of what the charges

against the queen are, and the evidence on which they are supported, he thought that was the course it was imperative on them to pursue, and one which would be most consonant with her majesty's view of her own situation. He would now endeavour to explain what that course of proceeding was, which he thought would probably be best liked by the queen. With reference to that part of her majesty's answer, in which she expressed her apprehensions of exciting the resentment of the house, because her majesty had denied herself to an application which no Brunswick before had ever done; he trusted the course they should decide upon adopting would be such as would convince that illustrious personage that their object was nothing but to pursue the ends of justice. If, therefore, the house would permit him to speak of matters originating with himself, he was prepared to say, that he had in view to bring forward a motion on a future day, which would be founded on the queen's answer to the late address of that house. He was sure the house would not wish him to go into a detail of the nature of the motion, but he would state that it would have this distinct character, it would put her majesty, the house, and the country, in possession of the whole of the evidence contained in the papers on the table relative to this matter. If the house should please, after hearing his motion, to go on to institute any proceedings in the case, without entering into a preliminary inquiry, it would have also

that characteristic so vehemently demanded, *viz.* it would be open in itself. If afterwards a *prima facie* case should be made out, and it should be thought proper to follow it up by evidence, that of course would be brought forward. He must so far revert to what had passed on this subject, as to state that the matter was at present involved in considerable awkwardness. Nothing could be more embarrassing than a judicial inquiry. He would not now look at the *prima facie* cause; but he contended, and he had the authority of Blackstone for saying so, that nothing was more difficult in itself, and nothing was more absurd than to require that two judicial inquiries on the same subject, should be carried on at the same time in the two houses of parliament. If both the committees should, as he could not for a moment doubt they would, decide that there were sufficient grounds for instituting and arranging some judicial proceedings, he entreated the house to consider of the difficulty that would exist as to where the proceedings should originate. That was the view which government had been induced to direct their proceedings upon, *viz.* that if the House of Lords took the matter up judicially, that house would necessarily wait. He wished it, therefore, to be understood, that it was necessary to name some day for his motion, sufficiently distant to give to the other house, before that day should arrive, the possibility of having framed some proceeding on this very im-

portant and grave accusation ; and which, at the same time, should not be at a period too late for the purposes of justice. In consequence of this impression, he should name Thursday se'nnight as the day on which he would be prepared to offer a motion to the house, founded on the answer of her majesty to the address of that house. He had no hesitation in saying, that he should desist from making that motion, if the House of Lords should have, in its judicial character, instituted any thing which must, in due course, come down to that house. But after waiting that reasonable length of time, he did feel that, after all that had passed—after the fact had been so broadly avowed, that the papers on the table contained matters of charge so grave against her majesty, even if the House of Lords did not institute any proceedings, he considered that he owed it to her majesty, and he trusted the house would allow him to put the charges in such a shape, that her majesty might be able to defend her own character. He had nothing further to state, but that he was ready to charge himself with the whole responsibility of originating this measure.

Mr. Brougham said, he concurred from the bottom of his heart in the appeal which the noble lord had just made ; and implored all sides of the house from that moment henceforth, through the whole course of the now inevitable inquiry, to let the voice of party cease, to suffer no factious,

personal, or political feelings to interfere in the prosecution of this question; in order that no shadow might be said to cross their path towards the attainment of substantial justice. On the part of her majesty he had to express the infinite satisfaction, which he knew to be the reflected image of her sentiments, on finding at length that there was some chance of her obtaining justice on constitutional principles. On finding that there was an end of that dark, inquisitorial, unconstitutional, unjust, and he would add, illegal proceeding, which it was the tendency of the green bag, accompanying the message from the throne, to institute against her. Her claim from the beginning had been for an open inquiry—her protest had been against an invisible tribunal. He had, however, not to thank the noble lord (Castlereagh) for this favourable change. He had to felicitate Parliament, the country, and herself, who had declared with one unanimous voice, that that secret trial should not take place. It seemed that the noble lord intended to propose in his motion some measure of a legislative nature to meet the inquiries of the other house. On this ground he should lay a claim to delay in behalf of her majesty. Let not the house draw from this an erroneous conclusion. He should not have ventured to make such a proposal, had not the reasons for such a claim been most just and satisfactory. The queen was anxious to proceed, and for her, and on his own account, he should deprecate all delay;

but one was rendered necessary by local distance. It was a journey of three weeks to the place of her majesty's residence, and three weeks back to bring the witnesses and evidence necessary for her defence. Should the house therefore proceed on Thursday se'nnight with the inquiry, how would her majesty be in a condition to meet it? Five or six witnesses on the side of inculpation might be examined, and all on that side of the case would be over. If this partial inquiry were open, all the country would see its nature. If it were secret it would be still worse; for a secret intrusted to twenty-one members in one house and fifteen in another, according to the common adage, had little chance of being kept. How would any man like the honour of his wife or daughter to depend on the secrecy of thirty-six gentlemen who had wives and daughters of their own, even should they be the most honourable of men? It would be impossible that some portion of the evidence adduced should not leak out of those orifices for emitting secrets which were found in every family. That evidence would issue out more or less, but its venom would circulate fully through the country. Let any man place himself in the position of her majesty—let him figure to himself the inevitable ruin of character which must ensue from this interval of three or four months before the exculpatory evidence for her majesty be produced? He therefore laid a claim to delay; but let him not be misunderstood; it was a delay

which would not retard for one hour the ultimate result.

Colonel Palmer had voted against the late resolution, because he thought that it called upon her majesty to do that which he would not have done himself in her place. He now conceived, that consistently with that resolution, it was the duty of the house to desist from the proposed inquiry.

Mr. Bathurst defended the conduct of his majesty's ministers through the whole of the present unfortunate business. He contended against the possibility of not taking some ulterior proceeding, and stated, that if a bill should be introduced, sufficient time would be given to the parties to prepare for defence ; so that when the case of the prosecution should close, that of the defendant should immediately commence.

Mr. Western entered his protest against the motion of the noble lord, because he conceived that its effect was to draw the house, directly or indirectly, into an approbation of those measures, and into an inquiry which the whole country, he said, had condemned, and which the general sense of the house on the first night of the discussion had decidedly condemned too. Why had the whole country expressed an opinion that the proposed inquiry was one which ought not to be gone into ? Because the noble lord, after having represented the charges as of a criminal nature, had declared that they were capable of being negotiated and settled by an amicable adjustment.

He would move an amendment to the proposal of the noble lord, that the debate be adjourned to this day six months.

Mr. S. C. Whitbread rose on the present occasion to protest against the measures which his majesty's ministers had pursued ever since the arrival of her majesty in this country, and particularly against the one produced that night, as it appeared an endeavour to delude the house into some approbation of their proceedings. He had opposed the late resolution, because if reduced into plain words, it was nothing but a call on her majesty to acknowledge herself guilty.

Mr. Tierney observed, that when the queen was spoken of as having taken too high a tone, it should be remembered by whom she had been taught to take that tone. She had learnt it from those who had pleaded her cause in 1807. She had then called for trial, and demanded to be acquitted or proved guilty. She had then been taught to tell her accusers that she would hear of no compromise, of nothing but the full restoration of her rights, of being re-instated in the favour of the sovereign, and received at his court. This was the language which she had held when it suited some of the gentlemen opposite to be her advocates, yet it seemed to excite in them some surprise, that now as then, she should claim to be considered innocent. The evils which threatened the country might yet be avoided, by pursuing one course which he would point out. He

knew that a loud shout would be raised when he stated what that was—it was a change of ministers ; and “ So help me God,” exclaimed the right honourable gentleman, “ I believe this country will never gain a state of tranquillity till the ministers are changed.” He had no interested feeling when he stated this, but such was his sincere opinion. The first obstacle to an amicable arrangement was found in the persons who were to negotiate. He again enlarged on the evil effect produced on the public mind by the course which had been pursued. An opinion in favour of her majesty’s innocence was abroad from one end of the country to the other. It might be unfounded, but the impression would not easily be done away ; and from the moment that any trick or chicanery was discovered, every thing that might be brought forward to support the charge would be viewed as tainted, and unworthy of attention.

Lord Nugent asked, were ministers sincere in wishing that no prejudice should be excited out of doors before the case came under the consideration of parliament ? He would put them to the test. He had seen certain paragraphs in two papers, called ministerial journals, which he had read with horror and disgust. In one of these papers he found at the end of a very long and offensive paragraph the following passage, which he begged to read to the House.—“ England ought not to be involved in misery for an alien

and unworthy object ; we mean for a cause not essential to our national interest, and not of sufficient importance to call for a domestic division upon it, to the ruin of our happiness and repose ; and as the queen alone stands in the way of arrangement, we say she ought to yield to the universal good, we care not whether as a martyr or a criminal." Could it be believed that this person was no other than the queen consort of England—no less than his majesty's queen. He left it to the impression and fair feeling of the house, if language like this was to be sanctioned ?

Mr. C. Wynn, and *Mr. Stuart Wortley*, while they admitted the embarrassed situation in which the house was placed, urged the necessity of immediate investigation.

Mr. Hobhouse said, it appeared to him that the queen had gained nothing by the negotiation but the means of going out of the country in a more suitable manner than she had come to it. He believed that ministers would have been glad to get her out of it on any terms. He could not understand how the green bag was to be got off the table. An honourable gentleman, on a former evening, had compared the situation of ministers to that of certain characters in the *Rehearsal* ; but the honourable member for *Bramber* and his associates, perhaps, rather resembled those in a drama founded upon it, the *Critic*, where *Lord Burleigh* says to *Mr. Puff*, " But, Sir, you have not told us how we are to get off."

—“ Why, replies he, cannot you get off kneeling ?” “ No !” “ Egad, it will have a good effect if you go off praying.”

The question was loudly called for.

Mr. Wilberforce expressed his regret that the advice of the House of Commons had been rejected, because he was convinced that if it had been followed, her majesty's honour would have stood assured in the page of history. Before that vote was tendered, much had been already conceded to the queen in the course of this transaction. In the course of the negotiation it appeared that only two points remained unadjusted; the acknowledgment of the queen at foreign courts, and the restoration of her name to the Liturgy. The first was removed by the offer to nominate her majesty as queen to the court at which she wished to reside; and then, all that impeded the final arrangement, was the restoration to the Liturgy. Whether the name ought to have been taken out, was not to the point; for the basis of the negotiation was, that the one side was not to retract, nor the other to admit any thing. So far did the legal advisers of the queen adopt this principle, that they offered to receive an equivalent for the concession demanded, and he would ask if the House of Commons had fallen so low that its assurance of the construction put upon her majesty's yielding this matter of feeling was not a sufficient ground to satisfy all that she could have desired ? It was on that ground he voted for

the proceeding, and he was sorry their hopes had been dashed to the ground.

Mr. Denman said that the legal advisers of the queen did not fear the charges contained in the green bag: it was only its falsehoods they dreaded, and the sole delay they required was to enable them to meet these charges satisfactorily, of which they had no doubt. They asked in the first place an open trial, and if not that, as fair a trial through the interposition of the secret committee as was possible.

The house now divided: for Lord Castlereagh's motion, 195; against it, 100. Majority for ministers, 95.

It must be allowed that the consequences of the step which the ministers were about to pursue against her majesty, were taken into due consideration by the opposition members of both houses, not only with a regard to the general interests of the country, but also to the feelings of the illustrious individual then under accusation. On Tuesday evening, Earl Grey, in the House of Lords, made, what may almost be called the last effort to stay the proceedings which were instituted against the queen, by moving, that the order for the meeting of the secret committee to consider the papers referred to their lordships be discharged. This motion gave rise to a very long debate, in which the same arguments were used by ministers as in the former debates on this momentous question,

and the motion was ultimately negatived by a majority of 102 to 47.

The only circumstance deserving of mention which took place during this debate, was the attack which Lord Holland made upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, as being the person who advised the omission of her majesty's name in the Liturgy. This led to an explanation on the part of the reverend lord, who said, that Lord Holland had objected to the insertion of the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the secret committee, because he was the constitutional adviser of the crown in the alteration of the Liturgy. Another noble baron, in a former conversation, had objected to the insertion of the name of that person, because he was the responsible adviser. He (the Archbishop of Canterbury) believed that neither one nor the other of the noble lords were correct. He would ask, where was their authority? Was it any statute? The only act he was acquainted with, which referred to this subject, was the Act of Uniformity. Did the noble lords find their opinions there? Certainly not. There was certainly no one who would be more disposed than he was, to relinquish his station on the committee in question, if the noble lords could point out such grounds as would be satisfactory to the house, and which would not impeach his integrity as a public or a private man.

Lord Holland explained, that nothing was further from his intention than to impeach the integrity of the reverend lord. But as that reverend

prelate conveyed the acts of the king, as head of the church, to the clergy of England, he considered the reverend prelate as responsible for the alteration in the Liturgy.

Lord Liverpool said, the alteration of the Liturgy was the act of the king's confidential servants who had advised it. The act was done in the council, and the lords of the council, who were present were, perhaps, strictly responsible; but in the practice since the revolution, the acts done in council were preceded by advice on the part of the king's confidential servants, who were thus the peculiar objects of responsibility. The archbishop merely acted ministerially, and was obliged to execute the orders in council.

Thus the public are at last informed by whom the omission of her majesty's name was advised, and it is now ascertained on whose shoulders the whole weight of that odious measure should repose; a weight which is hourly increasing from the indignation of the people, and which will one day impel them from the places which they now occupy.

In regard to the Liturgy, we now lay before our readers a letter which was written by her majesty, on her seeing from the newspapers that her name was omitted in the Liturgy; and the composition proves that it proceeded from her own feelings, and was not the result of legal opinion. It also puts to rest the charge which was brought forward by *Lord Castlereagh*, at the time when the negotiations were carried on, that the question of the Liturgy had been raised as an afterthought

to throw an obstacle in the way of an amicable adjustment of the differences.

Rome, March 16, 1820.

The queen wishes to be informed, through the medium of Lord Liverpool, first minister to the king, for what reason or motive the queen's name is left out of the General Prayers in England, with a view to prevent all her subjects from paying her such respect as is due to her. And it is an equally great omission towards the king, that his consort queen should be obliged to submit to such great neglect, as if the archbishop was in perfect ignorance of the real existence of the Queen Caroline of England. The queen is desirous that Lord Liverpool should communicate this letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Liverpool will with difficulty believe how much the queen was surprised at this first act of cruel tyranny towards her; since she had been informed through the newspapers of the 22d of February, that in the course of the debates in the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh, one of his best friends, assured the queen's attorney-general, that the king's servants would not use towards the queen any inattention or harshness. And after that speech of Lord Castlereagh, the queen is surprised to find her name left out of the Liturgy, as if she no longer existed in this world. The queen trusts, before she arrives in England, these matters will be corrected, and that she will receive a satisfactory answer from Lord Liverpool.

CAROLINE, QUEEN.

Whilst these proceedings were carrying on in Parliament, the whole country rose as if actuated by one spirit of indignation, at the unjustifiable measures which had been adopted against the queen, and particularly at the manner in which it had been decided that she should be tried; meet-

ings were held in various towns, for the purpose of addressing the queen, and one of the first addresses which was presented, was from the town of Nottingham. The address itself, however, is not worthy of being recorded, the following is her majesty's answer :

I receive with cordial gratitude, the affectionate sentiments expressed in this address.

Sincerely as I must ever deplore the distresses that may fall on any of my fellow-subjects, I must decline to speculate on their probable causes, or to cast reproaches on their supposed authors. Having come to this country for my own vindication, I cannot mix political animosities with my just cause.

My fervent prayers will be constantly offered to the Throne of Mercy, for the happiness and prosperity of the whole English people ; and there is no portion of them for whom I feel a livelier interest, than the inhabitants of the ancient town and neighbourhood of Nottingham.

A general meeting of the inhabitants of York and its vicinity, was held on the 26th of June, in the Guildhall of that city, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of congratulating her majesty the queen on her accession to the throne, and on her return to this kingdom ; and of expressing their sentiments on the degrading treatment she has experienced from his majesty's ministers. There were present nearly 3,000 persons, and numbers were obliged to retire on account of the excessive heat. The address having been agreed to, was signed by the right

honourable the Lord Mayor, who presided as chairman at the meeting, and forwarded the same evening to Marmaduke Wyvill, Esq., representative of the city, with a request that he would present it to her majesty without delay.

The address was presented in course, to which her majesty returned the following answer :

*To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Inhabitants
of the City of York.*

I thank you for your loyal congratulations on my accession to the throne, and on my return to England, as well as for your expressions of condolence on the severe losses, which, in common with the whole nation, I have sustained in the death of my dear and illustrious relatives. Had it pleased Providence to preserve their lives, I should not now have been exposed to the persecutions that await me, nor the country to the fatal consequences that must always follow a departure from the sacred principles of public justice. In the unequal contest against those secret advisers, who are alike the enemies of my royal consort and myself, I rely, with confidence, on the sympathy and support of every generous bosom, and feel secure that the vindication of my honour will be again complete.

Wednesday the 28th of June was a portentous day in the annals of this country, whether we regard the events of it as affecting the peace of the country, or the moral integrity of the people. The Secret Committee of the Lords upon the affairs of her majesty the queen met on that day at twelve, and proceeded to the opening of one of the most memorable depositories of accusatory

matter which was ever laid upon the table of either house of parliament. Her majesty's counsel, Messrs. Brougham and Denman attended, and put in a sealed letter, expressing the sentiments of their royal client upon the extraordinary and unprecedented proceedings which have now been commenced against her. The learned gentlemen remained in waiting a considerable time, in order to receive an answer to the letter delivered on the part of the queen, but none being returned by the committee, her majesty's counsel withdrew.

The committee first met in Lord Shaftesbury's private room, all idlers being very properly excluded from the passages. After remaining there a short time, they went to the robing room, and finally chose the old House of Lords as the most commodious apartment, and the farthest removed from interruption. The gentleman usher of the black rod and other officers of the house were stationed in various parts, and suffered no person to approach the committee room, while a number of constables were in attendance in other directions.

Previously to the committee, Lords Lansdown and Erskine were excused from the committee, at their own request, and Lords Hardwicke and Ellenborough attended in their room.

The following reflections press themselves upon us in this stage of the proceedings. The breaking that portentous seal is the first step to a career, upon which it would not be prudent to speculate. The act reminds us of the opening of

the bags in which the adverse winds were bound by the companions of Ulysses while their master was asleep. We sincerely hope the result will be less disastrous in the present instance than in the poetic fiction. The jealous mariners expected to find a prize ; a prize it was, but such a one as blew them from the dearest object of their wishes

When lo! on board a fond debate arose,
What rare device those wond'rous bags enclose :
'How ÆOLUS, you see, augments his store ;
'But come, my friends, these mystic gifts explore.'
They said—and (oh, curst thought!) the thongs unbound—
The gushing tempest sweeps the ocean round.—&c.

Odyssey, lib. 10.

It has been urged by many that ministers have shrunk from responsibility by the course they have latterly taken. Our opinion is wholly the contrary. They have rather increased their responsibility ; for let it be granted, that upon the papers contained in the bag the committee should report a presumption of criminality, they do so upon the pledge of ministers to support the depositions by the parole evidence of the deponents. Is not this a perilous—a most precarious responsibility ? Should the ministers fail to substantiate the contents of these papers, awful indeed will be their situation, politically and morally. A great difficulty exists in coming to the question of the propriety of the present course of parliamentary proceeding against the queen : not from the multitude of arguments which are opposed to us, but

from the variety of topics which have claims upon our attention. If we consider the proceeding as a measure of state, undertaken from motives of state policy, the words of the resolutions of the House of Commons meet us. If we consider it as a criminal proceeding against her majesty, [the offers to her, and the late proffered compromise, meet us. If we consider it as a civil suit, instituted by the king against the queen, many considerations press upon us, of the most alarming and important nature. If we consider the question as one of the purity and decency of public justice, the committee—its nature—its members—the evidence which it receives and rejects—all offer themselves to our notice. The question of the decency and purity of the administration of justice deserves perhaps the first place; because, although the House of Commons has already decided, if its resolutions have any meaning, that the proceeding is indefensible on the ground of state policy—though the compromise which has been attempted may defend the queen from any criminal prosecution,—though notorious facts might protect her against a divorce,—though we are confident, even if all the lies* which Italians

* It was the remark of a man, who, whatever might be his private individual failings, always acted constitutionally right, "That he would not believe an Italian upon his oath." He said this upon a court-martial, where the life of the man depended on Italian evidence. The man was acquitted—the Italian disgraced. In a few years, the Italian was prosecuted for

could invent or swear to, for the highest pay, were believed against the queen, that they could not lead to divorce or punishment, unless there be one law for the high and another for the low, it would be still no small evil that she should be deprived of her character by a perversion of the forms of judicial proceedings.

We do not hesitate, therefore, to say that the responsibility of administration is great in the extreme. It is most difficult to anticipate the judgment of posterity upon a public man; yet let us hope that Lord Liverpool will not be pronounced a minister capable of any act, harsh, mean, or unprincipled. He is a man with particular individual prejudices, and moreover with the prejudices of a man of system, brought up in a political school; but on this question he has committed more than one great error. When he advised and brought down the criminatory papers, he entered the lists in a combat of passion with an irritated female; forgetting that, in such a trial, female spirit rarely is the first to be reasonable. He risked himself and his colleagues upon a fearful casualty—the substantiation of written evidence; and he not only exposed, by his secret committee,

an offence at Minorca. He was sentenced to die. Lord Nelson questioned him as to the truth on the preceding trial. “I swore,” said the Italian, “to a parcel of lies; but I swore on an English Prayer-book.” The horror of Lord Nelson was great, but he had spoken. The man was forgiven, and bears the same name now as one of the queen’s accusers.

the House of Peers to suspense and odium, but he departed from the constitutional usage of our ancestors, that great principle which should be as sacred in Britain as the *Nios Majorum* of ancient Rome, the reverence for which was one of the main causes of the greatness of that wonderful people, and a convicted violation of which was in their eyes absolute treason, punishable by the Tarpeian rock.

Ministers have trusted their fortunes, their fame, and character, to the throw of the dice; and for their conduct towards the queen, an indignant posterity will, perhaps, attach the foulest obloquy to their names.

In consequence of the course which the house of peers had resolved to pursue towards her majesty, she determined to relinquish her intention of visiting Drury-lane theatre, which she fixed for Wednesday the 28th, in compliance with the urgent solicitations of the manager. This prudent determination on the part of her majesty, instead of softening the asperity of the ministerial party, only increased the virulence of their attack, for they were in hopes that she would visit the theatre, and then all the hell-dogs of abuse and invective would have been let loose upon her; but she deprived them of a handle for their scurrility, and that was an offence not to be easily pardoned. A large party dined with her majesty on that day at two o'clock, which early hour for dining is her majesty's usual custom. Dr. Parr was of the party, and those measures were

into consideration, which it became necessary to adopt, in consequence of the course pursued by the House of Peers.

Although the House of Commons had paused for a time in their proceedings in the case of her majesty, for the express purpose of waiting for the report of the secret committee of the lords, yet the country was actively alive in shewing the sense which the people at large entertained of the charges which had been brought forward against the queen, and of the injury which she had sustained.

A requisition had been signed by the Livery of London, to hold a common-hall for the purpose of considering the propriety of an address from that body to her majesty, on her arrival in this country. Accordingly the Livery met on Friday the 30th June, and at one o'clock, the Lord Mayor took the chair; there being present Alderman Wood, Thorpe, Waithman, &c. and the sheriffs.

Mr. Gibson came forward to propose certain resolutions; the second only of which we shall give, as being the only one out of the usual form:

That we have beheld with grief the numerous insults and indignities that have been offered to her majesty, both at home and abroad, and lament that persons should be found with such unchristian feelings as to advise the omission of her name in the solemn services of the Church; and we have felt the highest indignation at the insulting and de-

grading propositions which were made to her majesty before her arrival in this country ; and we are equally disgusted with those which have been made since her arrival, to induce her to become an exile from this land, which might afford her enemies fresh opportunities for those calumnies, which probably they never would have dared to attempt if she had remained in England.

Several members spoke, but only one (Mr. Rowcroft) against the resolutions, which were carried.

Thanks were then proposed to Mr. Alderman Wood for his conduct towards her majesty ; on which, the worthy alderman expressed himself in the following manner :

He said, that if his conduct had given satisfaction to his constituents, he was happy. There were many reasons why he should remain silent, both in that place, and elsewhere ; but the time would, no doubt, come when he might speak out. Not all the taunts and goadings he endured in the house, or elsewhere, had tempted him to break that silence, or violate the deep respect he owed to the illustrious lady in question. He had been grossly taunted, but he would say to his enemies, that if they had acted through their public life as disinterestedly as he had done in this instance, they would have no cause to regret. He had, he said, long known the peculiar situation of her majesty, and the measures that had been adopted to prevent her return to this country ; and he was sure that no honest man in

the kingdom, knowing what he knew, would have hesitated to have acted exactly as he had done. Whether or not his conduct had been regulated by *profound and absolute wisdom*, was not for him to say, but this he would say, fearlessly, that what he had done, he had done with an upright heart; and he felt convinced, that in the end he should receive the approbation of every honourable mind in the country. He had abstained from all public dinners or meetings, because he would not be tempted to give any thing like a public opinion, and he should still abstain from expressing any opinion, except this one—that her majesty must not leave this kingdom. Speaking of the offer made to her majesty at St. Omer's, he said, that if she had so consented to compromise her honour, nothing should have induced him to vote a single shilling of the public money towards her support; and he should not hesitate to say the same thing to her majesty herself. These were his sentiments, he added, and he could enlarge upon them much further; but that was not the proper place, and he bowed, not only to his own sense of propriety, but to his feeling of respect for that illustrious lady. The worthy alderman retired, amidst general and continued cheering.

On the same day, a numerous and respectable meeting of the electors of the borough of Southwark was held at the town-hall, pursuant to a requisition sent to the high bailiff, for the purpose

of presenting an address of condolence and congratulation to her majesty.

The high bailiff having stated the object of the meeting, Mr. S. Davis moved the following resolution :

“ That a loyal address of condolence and congratulation, be presented to her majesty upon her arrival in England.”

The resolution having been put, was carried unanimously, and after some very able arguments by Mr. Calvert, Sir Robert Wilson, and other speakers, in censure of the proceedings instituted against her majesty, the meeting dispersed.

About two hours after the meeting of the Livery was over in the city, her majesty went to Guildhall, accompanied by Mr. Alderman Wood. Her majesty was received at the door by Mr. Favell, and several gentlemen of the common-council, bearing wands. Her majesty was particularly anxious to see the statue of the late king, and was accordingly led to the room where it stands. The common-council-chamber was crowded with well-dressed ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs as her majesty walked through their ranks. One lady knelt down, and ejaculated a fervent prayer for her majesty's prosperity. The queen raised her, and spoke a few words of thanks to her, in a manner that showed she was greatly affected by the incident. Her majesty was received with loud cheers by all

who had the honour to be admitted into the hall to see her pass. Her carriage was drawn by the populace, in spite of the most earnest remonstrances to the contrary.

This circumstance of the queen's visit to the city, was eagerly seized upon by the ministerial party to vent their abuse against their queen; and indeed every event, however trivial in its nature, which calls forth an expression of the public feeling, flowing with such an impetuous force in favour of the queen, is received by that party with the most marked disgust and abhorrence. They seem to be immediately afflicted with a kind of St. Vitus's dance, and they turn and twist—and jump and skip about, and make a thousand hideous grimaces at an act which an unbiassed and unprejudiced mind would look upon as one of the common actions of daily life. We should be the foremost to regret if her majesty committed any act to lower herself in the esteem of the wise, or if she rendered herself too common in the eyes of the people, and so far, caution is to be recommended. It must, however, be taken into consideration in this instance, that her majesty is actually driven into a state of publicity, by the very situation in which she is improperly placed; and it is the very acmé of illiberality in those who have so placed her, or forced her to place herself, to abuse her for that which necessarily results from their own conduct towards her. Had she been placed, as she

ought to have been, at least till her trial, in any of the empty palaces, she would then have had grounds and gardens for walking and amusement, remote from observation ; but instead of this, she is immured within the narrow space of some forty feet square, or forty by thirty, and possessing as she does light spirits, and an active frame, the only kind of exercise she can possibly take, if she must not stir out, would be running up stairs and down—but she cannot do even this without being seen and cheered by occasional passengers and loiterers. Is this her fault, we ask, or her misfortune ? She certainly does right to attend to her health, and to take as much air and exercise as are necessary for its preservation, and we may add for the support of those spirits which are requisite to enable her to meet the trial to which she is doomed. If she does more, if she needlessly exposes herself to the public gaze, or studies ostentatious parade, we might address her in the words of the poet :

Had I so lavish of my presence been,
So common hackney'd in the eyes of men,
So stale and cheap to vulgar company ;—
Opinion, that did help me to the crown,
Had still kept loyal to possession,
And left me, in reputeless banishment,
A fellow of no mark nor likelihood.
By being seldom seen, I could not stir,
But, like a comet, I was wondered at ;
That men would tell their children, ' This is he !'
Others would say, ' Where ? which is Bolingbroke ?'

And then I stole all courtesy from heav'n,
And dress'd myself in such humility,
That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts,
Loud shouts and salutations from their mouths,
Even in the presence of the crowned king.
Thus did I keep my person fresh and new ;
My presence, like a robe pontifical,
Ne'er seen, but wonder'd at : and so my state,
Seldom, but sumptuous, showed like a feast ;
And won, by rareness, such solemnity.

On the following day, Saturday July 29th, Mr. Brougham had an audience of her majesty, to present an affectionate and loyal address from Preston, signed in a few hours by some thousands of the inhabitants.

Her majesty was most graciously pleased to receive it, and return the following answer :

I thank the good people of Preston for this mark of their regard.

My object in coming home has been the vindication of my honour ; and I shall perform this sacred duty, which I owe alike to the country and to myself, without making myself a party to the political divisions that at present exist. But I never can forget the gratitude I owe to the English nation, or cease to feel the liveliest interest in its prosperity.

In the afternoon, her majesty took an airing to Blackheath, in a private carriage. She returned through the city, and called at the shop of Mr. Alderman Waithman ; on leaving which, she was recognised by the populace, who took the horses from her carriage, and drew it themselves.

As a specimen of the manner in which these inoffensive actions of her majesty were described, and the construction which was put upon them by one of the greatest apostates to the cause of her majesty, we quote the following remarks which were promulgated to the public, on the occasion of this visit of her majesty to the shop of Alderman Waithman :

“ After remaining there a sufficient time for a mob to collect, she re-entered her carriage, amidst the noisy cheering of a number of chimney-sweeps and other dirty fellows, the very refuse of society, who being as usual provided with a rope for the purpose, dragged her along all the streets, amidst the most hideous and abhorrent howlings, and to the evident offence of all the decent and peaceable inhabitants. Either her majesty must in this course give herself up entirely to the advice of the most worthless and mischievous of men, or she cannot herself be in a proper state of mind ; and this perhaps is the most humane plea that can be urged in behalf of her extraordinary conduct. Good God ! what a disgusting and abhorrent scene does thus continue to present itself to our view. A woman—that woman a queen—that queen labouring under the imputation of heavy charges—daily dragged by the veriest rabble through the streets of the metropolis ! Is it of a Queen of England that we are compelled to write this ? Since England had a name, when was its metropolis so disgraced

before ? There is, in the whole transaction, something so repulsive—so alien from all our notions of female propriety—so unlike what the sober dignity of English morals requires—so irreconcilable with all our habits, feelings, and ideas—that we cannot trust ourselves with the language which alone could adequately express our sentiments. From the repetition of such extraordinary conduct, it cannot now be said that her majesty would fain avoid such exhibitions. We have unhappily lived to see what we should have scorned the man who had told us could happen—a female—an illustrious female—a queen—daily dragged in procession through the streets of London—like a base demagogue or radical incendiary ! Oh ! the very idea saddens and sickens the heart ! May we hope, for her own sake, that we have now witnessed the last of these afflicting scenes—as derogatory to her majesty, as they are disgraceful to the country, in which she claims the full rank and undiminished rights and privileges of the most decorous and amiable of our queens !”

From this same polluted source of vituperation issued the following truly scandalous and abominable statement :

“ England ought not to be involved in misery for an alien and unworthy object ; we mean for a cause not essential to our national interest, and not of sufficient importance to call for a domestic division upon it, to the ruin of our happiness and

repose ; and, as the queen alone stands in the way of arrangement, we say she ought to yield to the universal good, we care not whether as a martyr or a criminal."

This infamous language was severely animadverted upon by Lord Nugent in the House of Commons, and he asked whether language like this was to be sanctioned. He called on his majesty's ministers, if indeed they meant to bring this question to issue by a fair, public, just, and impartial trial, to do their duty. He asked, whether the noble lord and his friends in office would allow an impression of this nature to be attempted, without instructing the Attorney-General to prosecute an attack so unwarranted and so prejudicial?

But this circumstance is particularly deserving of notice, as it nearly endangered the peace of the city; and by the very persons who were actually trembling with alarm on account of the ebullition of popular enthusiasm which manifested itself in favour of the queen. The walls of the metropolis were now posted with placards, headed in large letters, "PROPOSALS TO MURDER THE QUEEN." Large crowds were assembled to read them in different places, but the police officers tore them down almost as soon as they were posted on the walls. These placards were by the ministerial party immediately stigmatized as having been written and printed for the most diabolical purposes, although they themselves



Robt. Campbell sc.

WILLIAM AUSTIN,
Her Majesty's Protégé.

London. Published by Thomas Kelly, 17. Paternoster Row, Sept. 22. 1820.

and admitted of any disaffection in reason
holding that the queen should be sacrificed, they
were not more, either as a society or a criminal.
In the plenitude of their rage they declared
that these placards were only published with a
view of inflaming the passions of the mob, but
that at the same time they were very contemptible
and most unworthy. The rage which they
expressed from the press was a new source of
their indignation. By the publication of such is the
most common of all the world. It is not only
that there has been much of it in the papers
but that it has been published in the most
public manner. It is not only that it has been
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stood acquitted of any diabolical intent, in recommending that the queen should be sacrificed, *they cared not which*, either as a martyr or a criminal. In the plenitude of their sagacity they declared, that these placards were only published with a view of inflaming the passions of the mob, but forgetting at the same time, very conveniently, that the most inflammatory language which ever issued from the press, had but a few hours before been promulgated by themselves. Such is the impartiality with which the cause of an injured queen has been investigated; and such in proportion will be the humiliation of her enemies, when in the moment of her victory over them they will be crouching at her feet, supplicating her forgiveness, and ready to emit the blackness of the venom on all those who dare henceforth asperse her character.

Her majesty having been pleased to appoint Monday the 3d of July, for receiving the addresses of the borough of Southwark and of the Common-hall, considerable crowds began to collect in Portman-street and Oxford-street, at an early hour, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of weather. The windows were crowded with well-dressed females, and rows of carriages lined the streets. A few minutes past one, the Southwark procession appeared, and was saluted with cheers by the multitude. Sir R. Wilson, in the uniform of a general officer, Mr. Calvert and the high bailiff of Southwark, in their court dresses,

with a number of gentlemen, electors of the borough, were presented to the queen, and had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. The following is the address, and was read to her majesty; but as the original copy had been sent to Mr. Brougham, who was indisposed in the country, she had not previously perused it, so as to be able to return a written answer. Her majesty returned a most gracious verbal answer, and promised that her written answer should be immediately sent to the electors of Southwark. The deputation then retired, and was a second time greeted by the enthusiastic cheers of the people. At the same moment, several benefit societies marched by with their flags and music. The whole scene was interesting and animated in the extreme.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The dutiful and loyal Address of the inhabitant Household-ers of the ancient Town and Borough of Southwark, in Town-hall assembled.

May it please your majesty :

We, his majesty's faithful subjects, the inhabitant householders of the ancient town and borough of Southwark, in town-hall assembled, beg leave to offer to your majesty our most sincere and fervent congratulations on your majesty's accession to your royal title; and on your majesty's safe return to the empire in which it has been ordained by Providence that your majesty should hold so exalted a station.

In offering these congratulations to your majesty, it is in-

cumbent upon us to add the expressions of our condolence on the loss your majesty has sustained by the death of our late gracious sovereign, your majesty's steadfast friend, King George the Third, and still more, on the irreparable loss your majesty has suffered by the death of your amiable and incomparable daughter, the Princess Charlotte, on whom the hopes of the country were fixed, and in whose virtues were combined the surest safeguards for the loyalty and the liberty of a people born to freedom; and who have never abused the blessings of freedom, when fairly and constitutionally dispensed to them.

We would on no account offend, by intruding unnecessarily into the personal concerns of your majesty. Your majesty's interests, however, have become the interests of the public. We trust then, we shall be excused, as well as believed, when we take the liberty of assuring your majesty, that we have long beheld the afflictions by which your majesty has been so peculiarly oppressed, with the most genuine emotions of sympathy and grief.

In these feelings, common, with some few unimportant exceptions, to the great bulk of his majesty's subjects, we have been, in some degree, consoled, by the conviction that your majesty must have seen and known that the sufferings to which you have been exposed, and the indignities to which you have been doomed, have been in no way attributable to any want of affection, or dutiful consideration, towards your majesty, on the part of the British nation.

But, of all the consolations which, under such circumstances, we could have received, one of the greatest has been afforded to us, by the courage, the fortitude, and the magnanimity, with which your majesty has opposed yourself, in person, to measures which threatened, if not the destruction of your majesty's life, the destruction, at least,

of your majesty's privileges and reputation. The extraordinary vigour of your majesty's conduct, has not only commanded the respect, the admiration, and the confidence of every liberal and enlightened mind; but it has raised, we trust, an invincible barrier against the enemies of your majesty's peace and honour; and has secured the transmission of your majesty's name to futurity, unsullied by the defilements which malevolence and servility might have attempted to attach to it.

That the advantages your majesty has acquired by this wise and dignified course of proceeding, may not be impaired by needless, or insidious negotiations;—that your majesty's character and rights may be established on the plain and common-sense grounds, which are evidently those of your majesty's choice, and not be frittered away by verbal subtilties, and refinements, beyond the scope of popular comprehension;—that your majesty, by continuing to dwell among us, may not only long reign in our hearts, but be an eye-witness and a personal partaker of the joys with which (as it has been confessed even by one of the king's ministers) your majesty's presence is calculated to inspire us:—that your majesty, in few words, may possess, during the remainder of your valuable life, such securities for happiness as may, in some measure, atone for the unmerited ills of days gone by;—these, may it please your majesty, are the objects earnestly wished and devoutly prayed for by the millions of friends and of advocates by whom your majesty is at this moment surrounded; and by no part of the British community more ardently, than by the inhabitants of that large and respectable district of the metropolis, who now presume to lay at your majesty's feet this humble testimony of their fidelity, their regard, and their veneration.

The Lord Mayor and the other city authorities,

shortly after two, appeared with the address of the Common-hall, which was read to her majesty as follows :

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common-hall assembled.

May it please your Majesty,

We, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common-hall assembled, humbly approach your majesty with our warmest congratulations upon your majesty's safe return to this kingdom.

We sincerely condole with your majesty upon the loss of so many illustrious personages of your royal house, particularly that of your majesty's guardian and protector, our late revered sovereign, and your amiable and beloved daughter, the Princess Charlotte, upon whom the hopes of the nation had fondly rested.

We have beheld with grief the numerous insults and indignities which have been offered to your majesty, both at home and abroad, and lament that any persons should be found with such unchristian feelings as to advise the omission of your majesty's name in the solemn services of the church.

As we have before congratulated your majesty upon your complete triumph over a foul conspiracy against your life and honour, we have never ceased to feel the most anxious solicitude for every thing connected with your peace and happiness, and sincerely trust your majesty will prove equally triumphant over the renewed attempts to vilify your character.

We have felt, in common with all his majesty's subjects,

the highest indignation at the insulting and degrading proposals which were made to your majesty previous to your arrival in this country.

We admire the prompt refusal of your majesty to compromise your honour for a pecuniary consideration; nor can we forbear expressing equal admiration at the magnanimous and decisive conduct your majesty has displayed, by your unhesitating confidence in the loyalty and honour of the British nation, as well as the courage you have evinced in boldly meeting your accusers, protesting against all secret investigations, and demanding an open and constitutional tribunal.

We felt disgusted at the proposal made to your majesty to become an exile from this land, which might afford your majesty's enemies fresh opportunity for the calumnies which probably they never would have dared to attempt, if your majesty had remained in England.

We sincerely hope that your majesty will be established in the full possession of all your just rights, and reside amongst a people zealously attached to the house of Brunswick, and who feel deeply interested in every thing connected with the honour of that house, and with the welfare and happiness of your majesty.

Her majesty then returned the following answer:

It is with peculiar satisfaction, and with most cordial thanks, that I receive this loyal and affectionate address from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, whose manly support of my cause upon a former occasion, has never ceased to live in my grateful remembrance.

No words can give utterance to the agonies of my heart, occasioned by those losses on which you offer me your kind condolence, and which admit of no reparation on this

side the grave ; but, in the many and deep sorrows and afflictions with which it has pleased Providence to visit me, I have derived unspeakable consolation from the zealous and constant attachment of this warm-hearted, just, and generous people ; to live at home with, and to cherish whom, will be the chief happiness of the remainder of my days.

The indignation which a long series of persecutions, plots, and conspiracies, carried on against my peace, honour, and life, is so well calculated to excite, it shall be my endeavour to suppress ; and while I steadily pursue the means necessary to the full possession of all my rights, privileges, and dignities, I would fain bury past injuries and insults in total oblivion.

Conscious of my innocence, disdaining the threats intended to awe me, knowing that it was to Britain I was coming, it required no extraordinary degree of courage to place me in the face of my accusers. To have acted upon this or upon any other occasion a pusillanimous part, would ill become a daughter of the house of Brunswick and the queen of a nation famed for its valour in all ages, and whose gallant sailors and soldiers have so recently been crowned with laurels in every part of the globe.

This answer her majesty delivered in the most feeling manner, and it made the deepest impression on the hearers.

The reply of her majesty to the address of the city of London will resound from one end of Europe to the other. The last sentence above all will excite the warmest emotions. Is there the abatement of one jot of heart or hope in this masculine composition ? Quite the reverse ; her views enlarge—her resolution is invigorated—her

indignation more fervent, as the hand of power seems or threatens to bear yet more heavily upon her. From the reply to the city, it was first learned that it will henceforth be her majesty's "chief happiness to spend the remainder of her days at home, among this warm-hearted, just, and generous people." After the publication of the charges, indeed her majesty cannot retire; if there were before need of firmness, then will the most undaunted intrepidity be necessary—thus, there must be no fluctuating, no symptom of fear, or inward misgiving. The die will be cast—one look back would give her persecutors incalculable advantages—her courage, and her courage alone can save her.

We now turn from the official to the incidental proceedings which have reference to her majesty. Finding that the residence which she at this time occupied was neither consistent with her rank, nor attended with those conveniencies which she had a right to enjoy, she applied to Lord Liverpool for a suitable residence. His lordship hereupon wished her majesty to name some house; under the supposition, therefore, that the mansion at the top of Stratford-place, which had been occupied by foreign princes, belonged to Government, her majesty fixed upon it, imagining also that the assignment of it would put the country to no expense. Lord Liverpool replied, that the house in question had ceased to belong to Government, and requested her ma-

jesty to name another. Her majesty, however, saw through the art of the wily statesman, and she was, in her own mind, so convinced that had she fixed upon any other house, that it would be discovered that it either did not belong to Government, or that if it did belong to Government, some excuse would be ready at hand to refuse it to her, that she did not condescend to make another request. It would have been curious to know the reason why Hampton-court could not be granted to her majesty—at all events, if the true reason had been stated to the public, it would have involved a distinguished individual, who at present has not appeared in the arena of this extraordinary contest.

On Sunday, the 2d of July, Sir William Grant had two interviews on the part of her majesty, with Mr. Canning on the part of ministers, but nothing was effected towards an adjustment of the grand differences.

On Tuesday, at one o'clock, a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was held in Covent-garden, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of addressing her majesty, on her return to England.

The high bailiff, (Arthur Morris, Esq.,) who presided, shortly addressed the meeting, and stated, that one of the reasons why he had not convened it sooner was, that he was afraid lest, as negotiations were at that time pending between her majesty and the king's ministers, it should

prove an obstacle to an amicable arrangement. He could assure them, that he had not been influenced by Lord Sidmouth in the reluctance which he then had to convene the meeting, but had acted entirely from his own sense of duty. Indeed, he never had, and he never would, consult that noble lord regarding what he ought to do when a requisition was presented to him from the inhabitants of Westminster. He then read the requisition on which he had convened the present meeting, and requested their attention to the subject of it.

Mr. Thelwall then came forward, and, after a short speech, proposed five resolutions, the last of which was, "that an address to her majesty be adopted by this meeting."

Mr. O'Callaghan seconded the resolutions.

The High Bailiff then put them to the meeting, and they were agreed to unanimously.

The report of the secret committee was presented on Tuesday, July 4th, to the House of Lords, and as it might be anticipated, charged the queen with offences of the highest magnitude. It accused her majesty of having formed an intimacy of a most criminal nature with a foreigner, who had filled the situation of a servant in her own household; and further alleged, upon the authority of the papers contained in the green bag, that her majesty's conduct had in other instances been marked by circumstances of a licentious nature, unbecoming her rank and station.

Previously, however, to entering into any disquisition on the merits of this celebrated report, we will lay a correct copy of it before our readers, with a condensed account of the parliamentary proceedings consequent upon it.

REPORT OF THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

The Earl of Harrowby begged leave to lay on the table the report of the secret committee, to whom the papers connected with his majesty's message had been referred, and moved that the same be now read.

The clerk read the report, which was as follows :

“ By the lords' committee, appointed a secret committee to examine the papers laid before the House of Lords on Tuesday, the 6th of June last, in two sealed bags, by his majesty's command, and to report thereupon, as they shall see fit, and to whom have been since referred several additional papers, in two sealed bags, relative to the subject matter of his majesty's most gracious message of the 6th June. Ordered to report,

“ That the committee have examined, with all the attention due to so important a subject, the documents which have been laid before them, and they find that those documents contain allegations supported by the concurrent testimony of a great number of persons in various situations of life, and residing in different parts of Europe, which deeply affect the honour of

the queen, charging her majesty with an adulterous connexion with a foreigner, originally in her service in a menial capacity ; and attributing to her majesty a continued series of conduct highly unbecoming her majesty's rank and station, and of the most licentious character.

“ These charges appear to the committee so deeply to affect not only the honour of the queen, but also the dignity of the crown and the moral feelings and honour of the country, that in their opinion it is indispensable that they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry ; which it appears to the committee may be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding, the necessity of which they cannot but most deeply deplore.”

The Earl of Liverpool, in consequence of the recommendation of the committee, would tomorrow introduce a bill relative to the subject matter of the report. With respect to the course of proceeding which it might be thought fit to adopt, he should be disposed to consult the convenience of the illustrious person who was the object of the charge.

Earl Grey would, in the present situation of the proceedings, abstain from saying much that occurred to him upon this most important subject, the difficulty and danger to be apprehended from which was, in his opinion, increased in an immense degree, by the reading of the report now on the table. When he before objected to the

course which the noble lords opposite proposed to pursue, he stated then, and he now repeated, that his only object was to obtain for the parties concerned, strict and impartial justice. He had now again to enter his protest against the injustice of a proceeding which did not leave the case of the person accused in an unprejudiced state. The charges now made were not merely brought forward by the ministers of the crown, but came before their lordships through the medium of a committee of their lordship's house. It was, therefore, important that their lordships should consider the situation in which they were placed. A charge of a more abhorrent nature never could be made against any individual, to say nothing of its being brought against a queen. If this charge rested upon evidence which could be supported, it certainly formed a case for indispensable inquiry, and he agreed that it was for the honour of the crown, and the welfare of the country, that the inquiry should proceed in the way calculated to secure the honour and interests of both. But by whom were their lordships told that the evidence could be supported? By those ministers who were willing to continue her majesty in the character of queen—to make arrangements for her introduction to foreign courts—and to recommend their ambassadors to pay respect to her. They (the ministers) now told their lordships that the queen was a person liable to imputations of the most abhorrent nature. They had permitted this

conduct to go on for years, and now they brought forward the charge with the greatest haste, leaving it suspended to agitate the country, and thus compromising not only the dignity of the throne, but the safety of the state. Her majesty, now standing under a charge proceeding from such authority, was placed in a situation that no one before her ever stood in. It appeared to be thought that it would be necessary to suspend the charge, in order to allow time for the defence, but he did not think that her majesty would lose any thing by the inquiry proceeding immediately; for she must sustain more injury from the circumstance of this report being promulgated to the world, than she could gain advantage from any delay for procuring evidence. As the case now stood, she had no means of knowing the characters of the witnesses that were to be brought against her; even the name of the menial servant with whom the adulterous intercourse was said to have taken place, was not mentioned. In this situation the charge was to stand against her for three months; and then, perhaps she would have, after all, to meet the investigation with very imperfect means of defence. He thought that justice required that her majesty should be forthwith furnished by ministers with a distinct statement of the charges, and a list of the witnesses on whose authority they were made.

The Earl of Harrowby thought that the noble lord might have abstained from saying any thing,

until his noble friend had had the opportunity of explaining the course of proceeding which he thought should be adopted. He could assure their lordships that he as deeply regretted the necessity of the proceeding, and as anxiously desired to avoid agitating the public mind, as the noble lord or any other person; but he thought it requisite to make one or two observations on what had fallen from the noble earl. He had accused his majesty's government with having committed a great act of injustice by the course which had been pursued. If that course was injustice, their lordships were completely accomplices in it.

The Earl of Darnley was afraid that nothing but mischief could result from the paper laid on the table, and sincerely wished that the proceedings had been avoided. He had before alluded to the measure of the omission of her majesty's name in the Liturgy, the injustice of which was so glaring. After her majesty had been prayed for during twenty-five years as Princess of Wales, the refusing to pray for her as queen was quite unaccountable. How did it happen that she, who was worthy to be prayed for on the 29th of January, became all at once an unworthy object on the 30th, the very next day? The conduct of ministers in this respect, could not be exculpated.

Earl Grey, in explanation, remarked, that if his majesty's ministers had before them evidence

of the queen having been guilty of an adulterous intercourse with a foreigner, they ought not to have softened it down into family differences, and offered to compromise it by an allowance of 50,000*l* a year taken from the pockets of the people.

The Earl of Liverpool said, the doctrine advanced by him was, that ministers had finally seen the queen's conduct in a different light from what they did at the commencement, because they now advised inquiry, whereas, they formerly showed a willingness to compromise. Now he (Lord Liverpool) had not the least difficulty in maintaining that, even on the assumption of the possibility of proving every charge against the queen which had been made, his majesty's ministers had done right in offering to agree to an adjustment without a trial. He would say, that had she remained abroad, the evils attending a compromise, would not have been so great as those that might be anticipated from instituting proceedings against her; and he entertained this opinion in common with 99 out of 100 of the nation. Undoubtedly it might be said, that, if charges existed, they ought to be proved or dispelled. This, as a general maxim, might be correct; but circumstances might be such as to render the application of it to certain cases highly inexpedient. Whether the steps they had taken to prevent inquiry were prudent or no, was a different question; but when the queen

came to the country—when her conduct was forced upon public attention—when no medium was left between admitting her to the exercise of all her rights and privileges, and allowing her full influence on the morals of the country, and proceeding against her, supposing the charges to be true, they were compelled to bring them forward. Great as the evil on this latter supposition was, it appeared to them to be the least.

The Marquis of Buckingham agreed in the necessity of pursuing the inquiry, as all attempts at compromise had proved unavailing.

Lord Holland remarked, that the noble earl (Liverpool) had stated in loud and lofty language, that he had his reasons for believing that inquiry which was not necessary if her majesty had remained out of England, became necessary as soon as she returned; but he had not specified those reasons. He merely gave his opinion without producing any grounds for it; and he had forgotten that her majesty was not only to escape a trial if she remained abroad, but was to receive 50,000*l.* a year. The feelings of the country might have been interested in this question; but was that interest diminished by the presence of her majesty in England? The noble earl had alleged that ministers were driven to the course which they had adopted, but he had not explained why they were so driven. The course of these proceedings was from the beginning

wrong—highly inconsistent—highly dangerous—derogatory from the honour of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country.

We shall be brief in our remarks on this unexampled report, in order to proceed to more important and weighty matter; but, we submit the few following reflections to the unprejudiced part of the community, and in so doing, we acquit ourselves of all direct partiality to either side of the question. In this report the committee say, that they have examined with all the attention due to so important a subject, the documents which have been laid before them; and, they find that these documents contain allegations, supported by the concurring testimony of a great number of persons in various situations of life, and residing in different parts of Europe, which deeply affect the honour of the queen, charging her majesty with an adulterous connexion with a foreigner, originally in her service in a menial capacity.

This report will not, we believe, surprize one individual in the country who has bestowed a moment's reflection on the subject. Every one knew that the committee had only *ex parte* statements before them, and that ministers having made up their own minds to bring forward charges against her majesty, would not be guilty of such egregious imbecility as not to lay at least a plausible statement before the committee. The report is, therefore, necessarily neither more nor less than an echo of the substance of the state-

ments laid before the committee by the ministers of the Crown. This is the impression which the report ought to produce. When her majesty, then Princess of Wales, was first delivered over to the vigilance of spies and the persecution of foes, the accusations brought forward against her, though they were only made the object of a private investigation, were far more numerous and explicit in their nature. She was then charged, not with an adulterous intercourse with a nameless foreigner, but with distinct acts of adultery with various well-known and specified persons. Captain Manby and Sir Sidney Smith were amongst the number; and, not only was the crime of adultery laid against her, but it was attempted to be proved that it had been followed by pregnancy, and the birth of a child. Neither did these momentous charges rest on the authority of foreigners alone. The witnesses examined were of a rank and respectability in life which entitled them to much consideration. What fell from Sir John and Lady Douglas, could not fail to produce more impression than the fabrications of discarded servants or needy adventurers; yet under all those circumstances her royal highness was fully acquitted of all criminality, and her innocence was solemnly recognised by the country. If the fearful influence of Government was so powerfully exercised when she was only to be neglected, what would be its operation, when it is put to its full exertion on her being put upon

her trial, and her condemnation loudly called for. We trust, however, that this tremendous arm will not be employed, for what innocence could contend with its might. In the meantime, however, we feel confident that if her majesty be allowed the same fair and full means of defence which she possessed in 1807, she will emerge as pure and brilliant from the fiery ordeal as she did at that period, when the whole country rejoiced at her innocence, and none but her enemies were confounded.

On the evening of the day that the report of the secret committee was made, the queen took an airing for several miles along the western-road, in a chariot and pair. The Princess Sophia also rode out along the same road, in a coach and four with outriders. The illustrious ladies met near Kensington-gate, but not the slightest recognition took place between them. The queen's carriage, however, was at the moment attended by a number of persons from Kensington, who expressed much clamorous disapprobation towards the princess; at the same time peremptorily ordering her servants to take off their hats. The mandate was not obeyed, and a momentary confusion ensued; but the whips of the respective drivers, and the mettle of the horses, soon put an end to it, by whirling the the carriages away, in different directions, almost at full speed.

On Wednesday, July 5, Lord Liverpool brought

in his bill of which he had given notice on the preceding evening. It was a bill of degradation and divorce—a fearful formula for a woman and a queen to encounter. Previously, however, to the order of the day being read, Lord Dacre rose and observed, that he held in his hand a petition, which had just been handed to him from her majesty the queen, who, being informed of the extraordinary course the House of Lords had taken yesterday, stated that she had various weighty matters to urge before the house, which were necessary to be urged in the present stage, and desiring to be heard this evening by counsel at the bar. Although he was ignorant of the nature and weight of that information which her majesty was urgent to communicate to the House, and could not decide how far it might induce their lordships to wave their prescribed course, it ill became him, he conceived, to decline the duty of presenting it; and when her majesty now stated that the acceding to her prayer was necessary for her further defence, he trusted that their lordships would listen to her solicitation. Such communications might also tend to accelerate the proceedings by counsel at their lordships' bar.

His lordship then presented the petition from the queen, which, on his motion, was read by the clerk:

The humble Petition of the Queen to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

The queen, observing the most extraordinary course that has been adopted by the noble lords in the secret committee

assembled, begs to state to the house, that she is perfectly ready at this moment to enter upon her defence on the charges against her, as far as she can understand them, and she begs to remind your lordships, that as it will be absolutely necessary for her to have certain witnesses for her future defence, she begs to have the nature of the charges against her distinctly stated in the present stage of the proceedings; and she further prays that, as it is important to her interests to make some statements on the present occasion, that she may be heard by her counsel at the bar this evening.

Lord Dacre moved that her majesty be now heard by her counsel.

The Earl of Liverpool: My lords, I must say that her majesty the queen has been ill-advised in presenting this petition, though I by no means mean to object to its being received. It appears to me, however, that there is, in point of fact, no proceeding at the present moment before the house to which this petition can properly apply, as in a parliamentary sense, her majesty cannot be supposed to know any thing of the report of the secret committee, whilst the bill of which I had the honour of giving notice, is not yet presented. When that bill is on your lordships table, a copy of it will be furnished to her majesty, and her majesty's convenience will of course be consulted as to time with regard to whatever evidence she may think it necessary to adduce to rebut the charges against her. At the present moment, it does not appear to me that there is, in point of fact, any stage of proceeding to which the petition of her majesty can apply.

Lord Daere, Earl Grey, the Marquis of Lansdown, and Lord Holland, contended, that there were circumstances peculiar to this case, which removed it from all ordinary rules, and that an infraction of their practice might be conceded on an occasion like the present. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Ellenborough replied. The question for proceeding to call in counsel was then put, and negatived without a division.

This discussion being closed, Lord Liverpool brought in his Bill of Pains and Penalties; he declared, that if he had now to retrace the steps he had taken, he knew not how he could move in any other course than that which had been decided on. From the fairness of the mode of trial in that house, and the power their lordships had to examine evidence on oath at their bar, he conceived there was a greater chance that substantial justice would be done between the parties there than in the House of Commons. He might state farther, that though this could not be considered a bill of divorce in the common and ordinary sense of the word, still its effect would be the same. The king and queen did not come before them as individuals; it was a question between the accused party, in her capacity of queen, and the state itself. Yet as it must necessarily relate, in some degree, to the marriage-contract between the king and the queen, it was on that ground more consistent with the dignity of the parties that it should come there, than be brought in the

first instance before the other house of parliament. The only question that remained was, whether this bill should have been brought in originally under the responsibility of the executive government, or whether it was not more proper to submit the documents in the first instance to a secret committee. He had reconsidered this question; he had reconsidered it with reference to principle and to precedent; and he had no hesitation in saying that, with reference to either, he thought the course adopted by their lordships was the just one. He would venture to say, that there could be found no instance where measures of this kind were adopted without previous inquiry. As to the more immediate proceedings, he wished a copy of the bill to be forwarded in the most respectful manner to each of the illustrious individuals concerned. The next question would be whether their lordships would fix a period for the second reading now, or postpone the determination on that point for two or three days, in order to learn what the wishes of the illustrious individuals on the subject were. If he were called on to name a day, he would propose the second reading for that day fortnight, as a proper and reasonable time for a measure of this description; and during that period their lordships would have an opportunity of considering what their future course of proceeding should be. On this occasion he wished only to move that copies of the bill should be sent to their majesties. He could

then wish that the house should meet on Monday next, in order to name a day for the second reading, which might then be fixed for Friday fortnight. He trusted that the administration would be found to act on this occasion with the utmost calmness and deliberation. It was a most important question, and called for dispassionate inquiry. It would be his endeavour, and he was sure it would be the endeavour of all their lordships, to discharge their duty firmly, but with all due lenity and mildness towards the illustrious person whose conduct had been brought under consideration. It was most satisfactory to reflect that the country had no precedents of a case similar to the present, during a period of two hundred years, except in the instance of one individual, who never came over to this country. There had not been a queen in this country during that time against whom even a whisper of shame had been raised to affect her character or sully her reputation. He felt that he, in common with their lordships, was placed in a situation in which they had no alternative : the question now was, if those allegations were proved to be true, whether impunity should be extended to guilt, or justice should be suffered to triumph. Nothing now remained for their lordships to do, but to pursue a clear and straightforward course—to perform their duty boldly—determined, whatever public clamours might exist, to take care that public justice was satisfied.

The clerk then read the bill, in substance as follows :—

An Act, entitled an Act for depriving Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, Queen of Great Britain, of and from the stile and title of Queen of these realms, and of and from the rights, prerogatives, and immunities now belonging to her as Queen Consort.

Whereas, in the year 1814, her majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, then Princess of Wales, but now Queen of England, being at the court of Milan, engaged in her service one Bartholomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, a foreigner of low situation in life, and afterwards the most unbecoming and indecent familiarities took place between her royal highness and the said Bartolomo; and her royal highness not only advanced him to a high situation in her household, but received also many of his relatives into her service in inferior and other situations, and bestowed on him the said Bartolomo various marks of distinction and favour, and took upon herself to confer upon him the Order of Knighthood, and pretended to institute an Order of Knighthood, without the authority of your majesty, and conducted herself both in public and in private in various places, with indecent and offensive familiarities and freedom towards the said Bartolomo, and carried on with him a disgraceful, licentious, and adulterous intercourse, to the great scandal of your majesty's royal family, and to the dishonour of the kingdom, and manifested a most scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct towards the said Bartolomo. We, therefore, the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, humbly pray your majesty that it may be enacted, and be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be wholly deprived of and from the stile and title of queen of these realms, and of and from the rights, prerogatives, privileges, and immunities now belong-

ing to her as queen consort, and that she shall and may be, from and after the passing of this act, for ever displaced from, and be utterly incapable of, exercising or enjoying the same, and that the said marriage between his majesty the king and the queen be, and the same is hereby wholly dissolved and annulled, to all intents and purposes."

The Earl of Liverpool moved, *seriatim*, "That copies of the said bill be presented to his majesty, to her majesty, to the king's attorney-general, and to the queen's attorney-general;" which motions were agreed to.

Earl Grey objected to the manner in which this bill was drawn up. Instead of stating accusations generally, without any specification of time or place, he thought that the time and place where those acts of criminality were supposed to have been committed should have been distinctly stated, to enable her majesty to meet the accusation fully. The general statement contained in the preamble of this bill merely set forth that her majesty had indulged in vices of a low description: no certain period of time was attached to this accusation, by which her majesty might be enabled to prepare for her defence. He hoped the noble earl would answer these two questions: first, whether any more particular specification of the offences stated by the committee would be laid before the house? and next, whether it was intended to give to her majesty a list of the witnesses by whom she was accused?

The Earl of Liverpool said, the delivery of the names of witnesses was unprecedented in parliamentary proceeding. When the case for the prosecution had closed, and the allegations were to be disproved at the bar of that house, then any time which her majesty might think proper should be afforded to enable her to rebut the evidence adduced against her.

On the following day, at twelve o'clock, Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt waited upon her majesty, with the bill presented the evening before to the House of Lords, by command of their lordships. Her majesty came into the room, and received the bill, with great calmness and apparent temper. The words which she used were not distinctly understood, or have not been accurately conveyed. They were in substance or sound like the following:—"I am sorry that it comes so late, as twenty-five years ago it might have been of some use to his majesty;" (indicating, probably, that it might have tended to set aside her daughter's claim to the throne.) What followed was more audible:—"But, as we shall not meet in this world, I hope we shall in the next," (pointing her hand towards Heaven, and then adding, with great emphasis) "where justice will be rendered me." She requested Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, if he had an opportunity, to convey these sentiments to his majesty. Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt is said to have been much

affected on delivering the message to the queen. He had not seen her majesty since she was living in the king's house.

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt had scarcely taken his departure, when the High Bailiff of Westminster, with Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Hobhouse, waited on her majesty with the Westminster address, to which her majesty returned the following most gracious answer:

This address from the inhabitant householders of the city and liberty of Westminster, will be long treasured in my memory, as an indubitable proof of their regard, and a lasting claim upon my gratitude. The language of affection for my person, of devotion to my interest, and of zeal in my cause, which appears to issue from their hearts, has made a deep impression upon my own. In the feeling manner in which they mention *Her*, for whom the invisible sigh of grief, will never cease in my maternal breast, I cannot be insensible to the homage which they pay to her memory, and to the solace which they offer to my regrets.

It is now seven years since I received an address from the inhabitant householders of Westminster, in which they congratulated me upon my escape from what they truly described as a nefarious conspiracy against my honour and my life. Upon that occasion my character was exonerated from the load of calumny with which it had been oppressed, though my conduct had undergone only an *ex parte* examination, and though I had no means of facing my accusers, or of being heard in my defence.

The people of England then, almost universally expressed their approbation of what they considered as the triumph of rectitude and innocence over perfidy and

falsehood.—From that hour to the present, I have been the victim of a similar conspiracy, which has been incited by the same motives, and prosecuted with the same views; though with increased violence, and with aggravated malignity. New and more appalling efforts have been made to destroy that character, which had resisted so many former attempts; but, I rejoice that I now find, as I, at that time, found, the people of Westminster, uninfluenced by the powerful machinations of my enemies, and animated by the same sentiment, which they then expressed, that every subject, until convicted of guilt, had an undoubted right to retain the reputation, the rights and immunities of innocence.

In the present perilous crisis of my fate, I am supported by that courage which arises from the consciousness of rectitude; and I feel that the English people will never suffer an injured queen to appeal in vain either to their justice or to their humanity. I am convinced that, in this land of liberty, no oppression can be practised, and that to be upright is to be secure.

In the warm desire which the people of Westminster have expressed for the consideration of my honour, they have exhibited a striking testimony of their loyalty to the king; for the honour of his majesty must for ever be identified with that of his queen.

My first wish is to prove, that my character has been unjustly traduced; my next is to terminate my days among the high-minded people of this country, to whose affectionate sympathy I am, at present, indebted for so much of the cheerfulness which I feel, and of the support which I possess, under the pressure of such complicated wrongs, and such accumulated persecutions.

Soon after the departure of the Westminster deputation, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, Mr.

Williams, Mr. Brougham, jun., and Mr. S. Whitbread arrived, and had an audience of her majesty, which lasted about half an hour.

In the evening her majesty took her accustomed carriage airing.

Her majesty's petition to the House of Lords not having been received on account of its informality, another was presented by Lord Dacre on the following evening, who said, that in consequence of what took place on the preceding evening on the subject of the petition then presented on the part of her majesty, he held in his hand another petition from the same illustrious personage, which proceeded nearly on similar grounds, but^d prayed also that her majesty may be heard by her counsel against the bill now pending in their lordships' house. The noble lord then handed in the petition, which was read by the clerk, and appeared as follows :

CAROLINE, REGINA.—The queen has heard, with inexpressible astonishment, of the proceedings of the House of Lords—proceedings which have in view the dissolving of her privileges, and founded upon the report of a secret committee, before whom she had no counsel to assert her rights, and who have proceeded entirely on written papers, and by whom no witnesses have been examined. She further learns, with surprise and regret, that her counsel were last night refused a hearing at the bar of the House of Lords; and further, that a list of the witnesses, on a future occasion to be produced against her, has been refused to her. Under such circumstances, her majesty doubts whether she can do more than make her most solemn protest against the whole of

such proceedings. Still, however, she relies on the justice of your lordships, and still prays that her counsel may be heard at your bar to state her claims.

After some conversation, it was agreed that her majesty's counsel should be called in.

Mr. Brougham stated that her majesty had last night, to her great surprise, been served with an official copy of a bill presented to and read the first time in their lordships' house. The preamble to that bill contained charges of a most grave and serious nature against her majesty—against the illustrious personage for whom he appeared. Her majesty's objection was to the situation in which such a proceeding of the house unexpectedly placed her. She also wished to be heard with respect to the mode of proceeding as well as to the time. The proceedings, as the case now stood, may be either gone into entirely, or only in part, which consideration may obviously operate as a very serious disadvantage to her majesty. Her majesty was also desirous of being heard with respect to certain matters which she thought well calculated to produce an important effect. On these she conceived the present was the time on which, with ordinary fairness to herself, their lordships could be addressed; and she wished that the attention of the house could be called generally to them. Their lordships' rejection of the prayer of the petition of yesterday to be heard before the bill was read the first time, was a serious disadvantage to her. They

were also told of things happening in a certain quarter, of which they were held to know no more than if they never existed, and of course they knew regularly no more of the report of the secret committee, except from its being printed in every newspaper, though for aught they knew it might be a fabrication, and a gross libel upon the committee itself, and that those who circulated such reports were deserving of punishment. In fact, the report went farther than the bill. Upon the former there was much matter which would not be confirmed by the passing of the bill, or negatived by its rejection. These were the only points upon which he had received instructions.

Mr. Denman followed, and supported the arguments advanced by *Mr. Brougham*.

Lord Liverpool said, he had distinctly stated that on Monday the 17th he should propose the day which he should deem proper for the second reading of the bill; that course he still meant should be pursued, and he trusted a full attendance would take place.

On the same evening, *Sir Ronald Ferguson* brought forward, in the House of Commons, his promised motion respecting the Milan Commission; when he stated that he did not believe that that commission, or the plan of getting up that bag, originated with ministers; the merit of that invention must be given to another person, a person of high station. It would be unfair not to

name him—he meant the Vice-Chancellor. He spoke from what he had heard, if he were wrong, he would, for the sake of the character of that learned person, be most happy to receive a complete contradiction. It was said that the Vice-Chancellor had been at great pains in promoting the object of the commission; he was at the head of it, and he recommended a gentleman to act on that honourable occasion, who had been long, and he believed successfully, engaged with him at the bar. As to the expense of the commissioners, he would be glad to be set right if he were wrong, but he did understand that the expense amounted to no less than 33,000*l.*; that for the five first months, no less than 11,000*l.* were drawn by these commissioners. He (Sir R.) would engage to say, that in Italy, with one half of that sum, he could get blasted the character of every man and woman in England. Affidavits were brought from the most mean and rascally of mankind to degrade her majesty without trial. He would call it degradation; and surely the bill recently introduced to hang over the head of her majesty, was not, and never could be, called an act of justice. He concluded by moving an address to his majesty, praying that he would be pleased to give directions to have laid before that house copies of any commission or commissions, instruction or instructions, issued by his majesty's commands, since the departure of the queen from this country in the year 1814, for the purpose of taking

depositions, or making inquiries relating to her majesty during her residence abroad; and also for an account of all sums expended on this commission, and by whom were such sums respectively issued.

Lord Castlereagh moved the previous question, and it was carried without a division.

Whilst these interesting proceedings were carrying on in the houses of parliament, the people manifested an almost enthusiastic attachment to the queen, and the most fervent interest in her cause. But it was not only in the metropolis, but in all parts of the country, that the same enthusiasm prevailed; and a most striking proof of the general sense of the people was manifested on the arrival of some Italians at Dover, who were known to have come to this country for the purpose of swearing against the queen. It was on Friday the 7th, that the Italians arrived at Dover, eleven men and one woman, and to all appearance of the very lowest class. Their object in coming to this country was immediately discovered by the people, and roused, as it could not fail to do among Englishmen, the liveliest feeling of indignation against them through the whole town. While they were in the Custom-house, having their luggage examined, a large crowd, consisting of men, women, and children, collected in front of it; on their coming out they fell upon them, and beat them most unmercifully, venting, all the while, the deepest execrations against them, and

the profligate purpose for which they had dared to land in England. It was observable that the women took the most violent part in thus summarily dispensing justice on these foreign mercenaries. The coach, which had been ordered to convey the Italians to London, stopped for two hours after its usual time of departure; but the crowd was great, and continued to exhibit such strong feelings of indignation towards these miserable creatures, that it was obliged to leave Dover without them. The magistrates then called out the civil power, and proceeded to disperse the people, which they succeeded in accomplishing in little more than an hour. The Italians afterwards left the town by stealth, and proceeded to London by the bye-road, through Folkstone, Maidstone, &c. One of them was said to have suffered most severely.

For some time the most active preparations had been making for the celebration of his majesty's coronation, and immense sums had been already expended. The sense of the nation was, however, against the ceremony taking place during the proceedings against the queen, and Colonel Beaumont, on the 25th, gave notice of an address to his majesty, praying that the coronation might be suspended until the termination of the proceedings now pending against her majesty.

Lord Castlereagh said, the motion was unnecessary, because his majesty had already signified his intention that the ceremony of the royal coro-

nation should not take place on the day originally named, nor was any other day fixed for that purpose. This postponement was not, however, in consequence of any proceedings respecting her majesty. Those proceedings, he might add, would be carried on with as little delay as justice would admit.

The ministerial papers put forth their strength to convince the English people, that this postponement of the coronation had no reference whatever to the proceedings against the queen, but that it had its cause in the impossibility of completing the preparations by the time originally appointed for the ceremony taking place. There was a time when the English people had so much confidence in the ministers of the country, as to give credit to their assertions, but that time is past, and all the shifting of my Lord Castlereagh, nor all the smooth and oily eloquence of his coadjutor, Mr. Canning, will ever convince the people of this country, that the coronation was postponed for any other cause than the trial of the queen; unless there be any truth in the rumour, that the military were so decidedly in favour of the queen, that they would not act their part properly in the gorgeous pageant. The postponement, however, is to be regretted on various grounds, but it is a necessary sacrifice to public justice.

On July 15th, the queen sent off three persons to the continent to bring witnesses of the highest rank and respectability to depose to her majesty's

mode of life. Upwards of one hundred persons of this character, are expected to rebut the testimony which is to be brought against her majesty by the filth and dregs of Italian inns and post-houses. The queen went to Barnes the preceding afternoon, but returned before nightfall. She was greeted by thousands on the road. Great numbers of well-dressed females seemed anxious to pay the most respectful attention to her wherever she passed; and the assemblage of respectable people in Portman-street was so great, that the road from Oxford-street to Portman-square was completely blocked up. The attachment of the respectable part of the community was more warm and more general than it had been on any former occasion since her majesty came to face her enemies.

On Sunday, the 27th, Dr. Parr performed divine service before the queen. Her majesty's counsel were with her during the morning. Several English gentlemen of distinction that had visited the queen abroad called in the course of the day to offer their services to give evidence for her majesty.

It is with great pleasure that we lay before our readers the following remarks of an eminent divine, respecting her majesty's religious character, exemplified at this particular period, and we agree with him "that it will be admitted, that a behaviour so strikingly exemplary, cannot but emanate from a heart which is the seat of purity and innocence, honour, and religion."

“ At a time when the press teems with observations on the conduct of the queen, it is remarkable that not one has attempted to portray her majesty’s most amiable and strikingly serious and devout deportment in religious worship. Few have been so far privileged as to be present on the occasion. It, however, has fallen to the lot of the writer to have had the very high honour of officiating before her majesty on the third Sunday after her arrival in England; and he conceives it a paramount duty to offer to the public his unsolicited testimony of the queen’s most exemplary and devout deportment, during the whole of our Church Service; and he wishes to do so at this particular time, because, from the proximity of the proceedings in the House of Lords, the unsolicited testimony of a minister of the Church of England in her majesty’s favour, will, doubtless, have its weight with that noble house, and with every well-regulated mind throughout the Empire. He, therefore, does not hesitate to say, that a stricter attention to divine worship could not be evinced by any person, high or low, than was manifested by our most excellent queen, throughout the entire performance. All the responses, as well as the alternate verses in the Psalms, were delivered by her majesty with the utmost pathos and propriety. It was impossible not to catch a feeling of devotion from the illustrious personage. On every occasion when our venerable Rubric

directed kneeling, the queen, conscious of the more immediate presence of the Deity, invariably fell low on her knees on the floor, not seeking and not having any prop to lean on, but most diligently intent on the awful and solemn exercise in which her whole heart appeared to be engaged; nor, after the conclusion, did her majesty rise until she had offered up a secret prayer to the Most High, for acceptance in his sight. If, then, a nation is highly favoured where the great and the illustrious are examples of piety and virtue, Britain is truly blest in its present queen. And as to judge of a tree by its fruit, is the only certain method of forming a right judgment, so it will be admitted that a behaviour so strikingly exemplary, cannot but emanate from a heart which is the seat of purity and innocence, honour and religion."

In the afternoon of Sunday 16th, the queen went through Hyde-park, about half-past six, exactly in the same state as on the preceding Sunday. The drive was very much crowded at the time, and the course of her majesty's carriage thereby much impeded. She had scarcely entered Cumberland-gate, when she was recognised, and "The queen!" "The queen!" "Hats off!" "Hats off!" &c. resounded on all sides. The promenade was also much crowded, and the moment the cry of "The queen" was heard, every body rushed impetuously towards the drive. Towards the bottom of the drive, near

Apsley-house, the carriages and horsemen were so numerous, that the royal carriage was for some moments unable to proceed at all. The cry of "Hats off!" was now very generally renewed, with increased vigour, and it was generally complied with, whilst many persons loudly cheered her majesty. At length the carriage passed through the gate, and drove off rapidly in the direction of Vauxhall-bridge.

The arrival of some of the Italian witnesses against her majesty, and their uncourteous treatment at Dover, have been already noticed.

On Friday, at eleven or twelve at night, they were wheeled, like a waggon-load of nastiness, through the streets of London, and dropped in Bucklersbury. But it appears that all the water in the Straits of Dover would not cleanse them of their filth; it was such indeed, that the landlady of the house in the city, resolved to expel them forthwith from her premises, and accordingly on Saturday night, was preparing so to do, when there drove up to the door two post-coaches, hired, as was said, for *Harwich*! But this was shrewdly suspected to be a feint: as the witnesses were brought the whole way from Italy, it was, perhaps, unreasonable to suppose that they would be so quickly sent off again, from any impression of fear or shame in their employers, before some man of business—as Mr. Cooke, for instance, or Sir John Leach, (whose names were continually in their mouths)—had

ascertained how far they were capable of serving the cause of that "allegorical personage, called Public Justice."

The public having now been put into possession of the charges against the queen, considerable anxiety prevailed to know the day appointed for the second reading of the bill, as the trial might be then said to commence. On Monday, Lord Liverpool rose in the House of Lords, to call their lordships' attention to the order of the day made with reference to the bill he had introduced on the report of the secret committee. When this subject was under discussion on a former occasion, it was thought that the illustrious person against whom the proceedings were instituted, and her counsel, were desirous of considerable delay; but, in consequence of the report of the secret committee, and the bill which he had laid on the table, an application of a different nature had been made by the queen's counsel—namely, that their lordships should proceed forthwith with the inquiry. On the last day on which this subject was under discussion, he had thrown out for their lordships' consideration, whether they would think proper to proceed with this inquiry without the presence of the judges. In the communications he had had with those whom he thought right to consult on this point, he was confirmed in the opinion that their lordships could not exercise their duty in the manner which became them, if they proceeded in

this measure without having the advantage of at least a portion of the judges. He had now to call their lordships' attention to the next stage of the bill. Consistently with the wish of answering the call made for an immediate proceeding, with as little delay as possible, he had made it his duty to inquire what was the earliest period at which the presence of a part of the judges could be obtained, and he had found that by the 17th of August, their lordships might have at least the attendance of four. It was, therefore, his intention to move that the bill be read a second time on the 17th of August next. What would be the view of the illustrious person, who was the object of the bill, with regard to the course he now proposed, remained to be seen. He knew not how far that illustrious person might, or might not, have objection to the time. He must observe, however, that if it should be thought advisable to make any application to their lordships for a change of time, or delay, he trusted that such application would be made within a few days; because, if it came in August, after the preparations for proceeding had been completed, and their lordships had made their arrangements for attending, it would be very inconvenient to comply with it. He must, therefore, repeat his hope, that if any such application was intended, it would be made without loss of time. If their lordships agreed to his proposition for fixing the second reading of the bill for Thursday the 17th

of August, he would next move that a copy of the order be sent to her majesty, that counsel be allowed to be heard for and against the bill before the second reading; and that the judges on that day be ordered to attend. He concluded by moving, that the bill be read a second time on Thursday, August 17.

Earl Grey would not oppose the motion; but thought that if there was to be any delay, it would be much better it should take place before the proceedings commenced than during their progress. He thought, however, that some arrangement might be made with her majesty, so as to have the delay previously to the inquiry, instead of making it interpose, as it otherwise might do, to allow time for the preparation of the defence. How this was to be brought about he did not know: but he thought it might be accomplished by communicating to her majesty a copy of the charges, and a list of the witnesses against her, which he considered nothing more than what strict justice required. He thought the attendance of four judges sufficient, and did not think that the noble earl had shewn any necessity for the postponement.

Lord Holland could see no reason why the names of the witnesses should not be disclosed to the accused party on this occasion. Either a statement of the precise evidence should be allowed; or, if that were refused, a list of the witnesses should be forthcoming. The ends of justice could

not be properly attained, unless either at this moment, or at some future period, the necessary information were laid before her majesty's legal advisers, and sufficient time were given them to examine the evidence in all its bearings.

Lord Erskine conceived that the party accused ought to have the advantage of knowing who the witnesses were, that their character and conduct might be inquired into. That appeared to him to be consonant with the plain principles of justice. When they were called on to decide this question, whatever his decision might be, he was determined to act with the most impartial justice. He would pay no regard, no respect, to persons; he would look only to the case, however painful it might be to his feelings. When a person was indicted for high treason, he was furnished with a copy of the indictment, and with a list of all the witnesses. Should not the same course be adopted in a case that was so analogous? In a case of high treason, if the prosecutor omitted the name of a single witness, though perhaps the accused had an opportunity of knowing that such a witness existed, and therefore could not be on his guard against him, it might put an end to the whole proceeding. As far as the prosecutor, in treasonable cases, was in possession of witnesses, he must produce a list of them; and, in his opinion, such a list ought to be afforded now. If it were not granted, it would seem as if all power

were exercised on one hand—as if an interest were mustered up too strong for the individual to contend against. If he were (and God forbid he should be !)—if he were desirous, if he were bad enough, to wish for a conviction, he would still grant to the person accused all the indulgence that the principles and analogies of justice could sanction.

The Lord Chancellor observed, that with respect to what his noble and learned friend had said, it appeared that there was no one case whatever, except that of high treason, which he could state as having the smallest analogy to the present; and even that his noble and learned friend was obliged to give up. He must evidently give it up as the law at present stood; and he was glad of having this opportunity to state his opinion. In the course of his professional life he had had occasion to see enormously long lists of witnesses, comprising perhaps 200 or 300 persons, given to defendants in cases of high treason. How could this be avoided as the law now stood? There was, in fact, no way of avoiding it; because, in cases of that description, the prosecutor could not call a single witness whose name was not included in the list. The arguments that had been used might afford good reason for postponing the hearing of the defence; and he was sure their lordships did not imagine that there was a man in that house, or out of doors, who

believed that the defence would be entered on until a full and fair opportunity was given to sift the character of every witness as far as possible.

The motion was then carried; and also a second, directing that his majesty and the queen, and their respective law advisers, should be apprised of the proceeding. On the motion of the Earl of Liverpool, it was ordered that their lordships be summoned for Thursday, August 17, and the house to be called over on that day. The Lord Chancellor added, that the call would be enforced. Lord Liverpool next moved, "that no lord absent himself on that day, or during the subsequent proceedings on this bill, without the leave of the house."

Her majesty, for the purpose of greater privacy, having taken the villa of Mr. Ball at Barnes, regularly drove thither every evening, to inspect the preparations which were carrying on there for her reception; and the concourse of people assembled in Portman-street, to await her return, increased every evening. On Tuesday night the crowd was so great, it was with much difficulty the carriage could be driven up to the door; and, even when it was there, several minutes elapsed before her majesty could alight.

The crowd, for the most part, consisted of respectably dressed persons,—the majority, perhaps, females; and among them carriages and horsemen. Her majesty was received with loud cheers from every part of the assembly, accompa-

nied by the most enthusiastic gestures from those persons more immediately about her carriage.

Mr. Alderman Wood arrived at the house during her majesty's absence, and awaited her return, which was not till between nine and ten o'clock.

In the House of Lords, Lord Auckland rose, on Tuesday, the 18th, to present a petition from the queen, praying that a list of witnesses might be communicated to her majesty's attorney-general. His lordship said, that he would only move at present, that the petition should be read and laid on the table; and would postpone the further consideration of it to Friday, 20th, when the motion, of which notice had been given by a noble lord (Erskine) would be discussed.

The petition was then read, and was to the following purport:

The Petition of her Majesty Caroline Queen Consort to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

The Queen having been informed, that the House of Lords have resolved that the bill to deprive her majesty of her rank and titles, shall be read a second time on Thursday, the 17th of August, deems it necessary to her just defence, that she should be furnished with a list of the witnesses against her; and therefore desires that such list should be forthwith communicated to her Majesty's Attorney-General.

The petition was then ordered to lie on the table, and to be taken into further consideration on Friday, the 20th.

The Earl of Lauderdale proposed, that a committee should be appointed to search for precedents applicable to the whole course of proceedings, that their lordships might have before them all that had been done in former cases, to direct them in the present.

Lord Liverpool thought, that such a general inquiry would be improper in the first instance; but had no objection to the appointment of a committee, whose labours should be confined to the object of the petition, and whose powers might afterwards be extended.

On the suggestion of the noble earl, *Lord Lauderdale* narrowed his motion, so as to restrict the committee to search for precedents upon the subject of communicating a list of witnesses in cases of bills of attainder, and bills of pains and penalties.

Lord Holland opposed the motion, on the ground that it ought, if appointed at all, to report generally; because a single point might mislead, rather than direct, if taken as a precedent: a knowledge of the whole proceeding in any case being necessary, in order to show the real value of any one part, and to determine whether it ought to be a warning or a precedent.

Lord Bathurst proposed an amendment, empowering the committee to extend their search to cases of impeachment.

This amendment was opposed by the Lords *Holland* and *Auckland*, as still improperly con-

fining the search of the committee, in the cases specified, to a single point, and being more consistent with a tenacious adherence to forms and rules, than with a rational regard for substantial justice.

The house divided upon the amendment, when it was carried by a majority of eighteen to ten.

On the same evening, Mr. Brougham made an appeal in the House of Commons on behalf of her majesty and her majesty's law-officers ; and it was in respect of their being so, and of a proceeding by bill having commenced against her majesty in the other house, where she had no officers, and where it was therefore the question whether she ever should. His majesty, the other party, had his ministers in that house ; he had his household officers ; but as the bill originated there, and the queen had no person who could act as the nominee of a committee, she was left under peculiar disadvantages. Supposing, too, an event which he could not anticipate—that of the bill coming down to them—he should have to request for himself and his learned friend (Mr. Denman) permission of the house not to vote on any stage of it. He should now move, “ That, notwithstanding the standing orders of the house, Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman be at liberty to attend the bar of the House of Lords as counsel for her majesty.”

Lord Castlereagh thought the house ought not to be called on to decide upon such a motion *instanter*. Upon his lordship's motion, it was postponed till the following day.

Mr. Brougham, on the following evening, pursuant to his notice, moved that his colleague (Mr. Denman) and himself, as law-officers of the queen, should be permitted to appear as counsel at the bar of the lords on behalf of her majesty. The motion was agreed to with scarcely any opposition. The king's attorney-general, as we have already observed, stood in the same situation, so far as to require the permission of the house for him too to appear as counsel at the bar of the lords. Leave was accordingly given to him and his colleague, the solicitor-general. Dr. Lushington, who had been retained on behalf of the queen for the same occasion, asked, and obtained, with some difficulty, the same indulgence. The five honourable members are all under an obligation not to vote on the bill, should it pass the lords into the House of Commons.

On Thursday the 13th, her majesty received an address from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Shaftsbury, to which her majesty returned the following gracious answer:

I cordially thank the mayor of Shaftsbury, and the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, for this loyal and affectionate address. The sympathy which they evince for the melancholy losses and the reiterated persecutions which I have endured, cannot but be gratifying to the best feelings of my heart.

To whatever trials I may have been exposed since I first set my foot on the English shore, I shall never forget that, in those trials, I was consoled by the tenderness, and supported by the magnanimity of the English nation.

Though I am well acquainted with the activity and the malignity of my adversaries, I place a firm reliance upon the protection of that great Being, for whom no secrets are hid; and, while those who are no less the enemies of his majesty than of myself, are endeavouring to ruin me by their wiles, and to crush me by their power, I am cheered by the consciousness that I possess a strong rampart of security in the good sense, good feelings, and good principles of this enlightened people.

For some time, public curiosity was excited to know what had become of the Italian witnesses, and in what corner of the island, they would, like the hunted duck on the lake, who dives to escape from the dogs, put up their heads. It was at length ascertained, that they had actually been conveyed to Holland, there to be kept until they were wanted. The Dutch were by no means pleased at their country having been selected as the temporary residence of this mass of iniquity. Their transportation to Holland, was at least a measure of an extraordinary nature.

The violent attack upon these persons at Dover was justly condemned, and we trust the perpetrators will meet with condign punishment; but are ministers therefore afraid of protecting them against a repetition of insult? With all the civil and military power of the country at their command, and without being scrupulous in the employment of the latter, their doubts seem to justify the report that all classes of the people are indignant at the course of proceeding against her majesty—and that they did not think these

witnesses safe from popular rage in any corner of the island. Their conduct in this instance is certainly liable to an alarming supposition !

The address to her majesty from Newcastle, was presented on Friday morning, and the following gracious answer was given :

With great satisfaction I receive this address from his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the vicinity.

I accept with thanks, and return with sincerity, the affectionate expression of your wishes towards myself, and towards that illustrious house from which I am descended ; and the true honour of which, as it never has been, so it never shall be tarnished by me.

Whatever I possess of wisdom, courage, and magnanimity, has been fostered and strengthened by the example of this discerning, generous, and gallant nation, on whose unalterable attachment to the principles of justice I firmly rely, under Divine Providence, for support under all my unmerited afflictions, and for protection against the machinations and violence of all my enemies.

On Friday, the 20th, the committee appointed to search for precedents, respecting the communicating a list of witnesses to persons accused, made their report ; and, on it being ordered to lie on the table,

Lord Erskine contended, that a list of the witnesses in support of the accusation ought to be communicated to her majesty. The bill did not specify either time or place in which the offence had been committed. Thus her majesty would

have to defend herself from 1814, the time of her leaving the country, to 1820, during which period the illustrious personage having travelled to a variety of places, the charges extended over the whole progress of her different journeys. If, on the contrary, her majesty were furnished with a list of witnesses, she might then be enabled to rebut the charges, or obtain the means of cross-examining the witnesses; but, if it was denied, her majesty would, after the examination of the witnesses for the prosecution, naturally require delay, and a considerable interruption would take place. Every one acquainted with proceedings in courts of law knew how much depended upon the cross-examination of witnesses for the prosecution, in order to elicit the falsehood of their statements, if falsehood there be. If the list was refused, her majesty would, of course, be entitled to delay, in order to prepare her means of defence. In what a situation would, therefore, their lordships be placed in the mean time? In courts of law, if a trial is adjourned from day to day, the jury is locked up, or required to pledge themselves that they will not communicate on the subject of the trial. Would their lordships consent to be locked up during the interval? He alluded also to the difficulty her majesty would labour under in shaping her defence, without the possibility of knowing what specific acts are attempted to be proved against her. When a divorce was sued out in the ecclesiastical court, the acts to

be proved, the time when, and the place where, they were committed, were particularly specified in the libel, a copy of which was furnished to the accused party. His lordship concluded by moving three resolutions to the following effect:

1. That a list of witnesses should be furnished forthwith to her majesty's legal advisers.

2. That the delivery of such list should not exclude the house from the right of examining other witnesses, if necessary, not named in the list.

3. That copies of the depositions should also be furnished.

After some observations from the Lord Chancellor, Lords Holland, Belhaven, and Bute, the motion of Lord Erskine was negatived by a majority of 50.

During this week her majesty received several letters from persons of distinction in Italy, expressing an anxious wish to be called upon to bear their testimony to the general propriety and unimpeachable character of her majesty's court. Communications were likewise received from persons in an humbler class, resident at Naples, Venice, Milan, Como, and Rome, in which some curious statements are made of the expedients resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining witnesses to be produced at the approaching investigation.

On the other hand, among other subjects of annoyance to which her majesty was at this time exposed, were the proffers of "kind friends" to

suppress facts and documents which might assist her prosecutors in establishing their charges. Her majesty invariably declined the interference of these persons, and desired that they might take their commodities to a market where they would be more acceptable. There was a proffer of a like nature from a baron, formerly notorious in this country, but lately resident at Dunkirk. It met with a similar reception.

In the absence of Messrs. Brougham and Denman, who were attending their professional duties on the circuits, the task of protecting the queen's interests, and of watching over the proceedings of Parliament, devolved upon Doctor Lushington; and on Saturday, the learned doctor rose in the House of Commons for the purpose of moving, "That an humble address be presented to the king, praying that he will be graciously pleased to order that there be laid before this house, copies of all official papers relative to a service of plate presented in the year 1808, by his late majesty to the queen, then Princess of Wales, and used by her from that period up to her departure from England in the year 1814."

In consequence, however, of the absence of Lord Castlereagh, the motion was withdrawn, and Doctor Lushington put it into the shape of a motion for the following Monday; accordingly on that day the learned Doctor renewed his motion, and Lord Castlereagh in answering the statement of the honourable mover, took occasion

to speak in strong terms of all attempts made to inflame the public mind, and spoke of the queen as listening to improper advisers, and suffering herself to be made an instrument of the evil designs of others, which had prevented her from receiving those accommodations, of the want of which she complained. On the subject of the plate, he argued, that the late king could never have intended to make it a personal present to the then Princess of Wales, as he had no more power to do so than to alienate the Crown Lands, it being the property of the Crown as attached to a royal palace, and some of it having actually belonged to King William. It was, therefore, merely intended *for her use*, like other furniture of Kensington Palace, while she resided there in 1808, and was never intended by that use to be detached from the establishment. Mr. Huskisson corroborated this statement, and the motion was negatived without a division.

It must be admitted, that the queen was led into an error respecting the plate which his late majesty allowed her to use while in Kensington Palace. The king could not make a present of the plate belonging to the Crown. It is not unusual for an order to issue for plate from the Jewel Office to princes of the blood, while resident in any of the royal palaces. Such an order was made for her majesty while Princess of Wales, and a similar issue of plate was made for the Duke of Cambridge, but they both sent them

back, and they were returned to the Jewel Office.

In the course of the parliamentary proceedings in the House of Commons on Monday the 17th, Mr. Sheriff Rothwell appeared at the bar, and presented the petition relative to the proceedings against the queen, which had that day been agreed to by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commoners of the City of London, in Common-council assembled.

Alderman Wood said, the petition that was just presented to the house had been that day agreed to by a very large majority of the common-council. Indeed, scarcely ten hands had been held up against it. He conceived that it was worthy the attention of that house, or of any other assembly; and he begged leave to add, that he concurred in every sentiment contained in it.

The petition was then read. The petitioners stated that they had learned with great regret, that a Bill of Pains and Penalties had been introduced to the House of Lords against her majesty, having for its object to degrade her from her rank, and to dissolve the marriage between her and his majesty. That the principles on which this measure was founded were never resorted to except in the worst of times, and the petitioners could not but express their sorrow that it was brought forward on evidence that would not be received in ordinary cases. The petitioners contemplated with great satisfaction the caution

observed by this honourable house, in the course of a proceeding which tended to lower the dignity of the Crown, and to endanger the peace of the country. In conclusion, petitioners prayed the house to reject the Bill of Pains and Penalties, if it should come before them. The petition was received.

On Tuesday, the 18th, Lord W. Russell and Mr. Whitbread waited upon her majesty, to present the address from the town of Bedford, to which her majesty returned the following answer :

I receive, with the most cordial satisfaction and gratitude, the assurance of the affectionate attachment of the Mayor and Inhabitants of the ancient town and borough of Bedford.

The condolence and sympathy expressed for the irreparable loss which I have sustained during my absence from England, in the persons of my beloved daughter, and his late revered majesty, is most valuable to me, and offers the only alleviation to my feelings of which the circumstances admit.

It is no slight aggravation of the pain occasioned by those severe losses, that those enemies, who for years have been seeking my destruction, no sooner perceived that I am destitute of that protection which before shielded me, than their attacks were renewed in a form scarcely admitting resistance ; boundless as are the means of overawing and corrupting, possessed by these implacable foes, no less of his majesty than of myself. But, however well-calculated may have been their measures to effect my destruction, by secret machinations, followed by the most audacious and industrious circulation of slander of their own creation, I

yet feel confident that that justice which has hitherto been the brightest characteristic of the British nation, will not be sacrificed or tarnished in my person. At the same time I cannot but be astonished and grieved that these slanders should have been in any respect sanctioned before I have been heard in my defence, furnished with any specific charge, or suffered to know who are the witnesses by whom I have thus been reviled.

To whatever dangers, however, I may be exposed, from the power and malice of my enemies, I never can regret that I did not submit to purchase security, and become party to my own degradation, by consenting to continue absent from the kingdom, under a compromise which must have equally affected the honour of all concerned. I thank you for your manly and generous expression, that the insults offered to your queen you feel as offered to the nation; and be assured, that while my honour is identified with the nation's (from which it never can be really separated), with God's help, I will maintain it in the face of every danger, and to the last moment of my life; feeling at the same time, that no sacrifice but that of the honour of the country, can be too great to promote the prosperity and happiness of a nation to which I already owe so much.

The address from Newbury was presented the same day by Mr. Grey and a deputation, accompanied by Mr. Alderman Wood, to which her majesty gave the following answer:

His majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, inhabitants of the borough of Newbury, merit my grateful acknowledgments for their frank and affectionate address. During my long absence from this country, I never ceased to remember the obligations which I owed to its high-minded generosity. Those obligations have been greatly increased since my re-

turn ; and I should be insensible to all right feeling, if I did not, hereafter, consider England as my only home.

I have shed my tears over the early grave of the Princess Charlotte ; and I am, at this moment, sensibly affected by the tribute of affection which you have paid to her memory, and by that tender recollection of her worth which is so universally cherished.

When death removed his late revered majesty to a happier scene, I instantly felt the magnitude of the loss I had sustained ; while his sacred life was spared, it operated like a barrier against the vengeance of my persecutors. But his dear remains were hardly cold, when my enemies began to renew their persecutions, and to load me with aggravated indignities. I was almost instantly held up to the people as a criminal, unworthy of having my name inserted in their devotional formularies. The conspiracy, which had been defeated, though only by a partial investigation of my conduct, in 1806 and 1807, again reared its vindictive head ; and an attempt is now making to degrade me in rank, and to sink me in infamy, by a procedure which is at once an outrage upon all law, and wholly incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution. But my honour and my rights are, in fact, those of the country ; and every one is interested in their preservation. The tyranny which destroys me to-day, makes every man's liberty less secure to-morrow. In the present alarming crisis, when I am attacked by the strong arm of overwhelming power, I rely first, as an innocent woman, upon the favour of a protecting Providence ; and next, as an insulted and a persecuted queen, upon the sympathies of the people ; and upon that potent agency of public opinion, which now forms the best safeguard against the aggressions of tyranny, and the enormities of injustice.

The petition from the city of London, which

was presented to the House of Lords, by Lord Erskine, on the 19th, against the Bill of Pains and Penalties, was rejected, and the objections which were made to the petition were various. Lord Holland took the narrowest and most defensible ground, *viz.*, that the petition contained assertions respecting the papers presented to the committee, which the petitioners were not warranted in making. Lord Lauderdale said, the allegations of the petition were erroneous. The Lord Chancellor said, the house should not tolerate an interference with *judicial* proceedings; and Lord Redesdale (treating the Lord Chancellor's arguments, according to Sheridan's phrase, as gypsies treat other men's children—disfiguring them to make them pass for their own,) said that the house should not allow any imputation to be thrown upon the mode of proceeding by Bill of Pains and Penalties.

The petition was rejected in the most uncere-
monious manner.

Her majesty, in consequence of the indisposition of Lady Anne Hamilton, confined herself at this time for some days to the house, but she was visited daily by many foreigners of distinction, one of whom made a pleasing communication to her majesty, that a family at Milan, who lent her majesty a house for six weeks, had voluntarily offered to come to England to give evidence in behalf of her majesty. The lady of this family is above 70, but she declared she would cheerfully undertake

the fatigue of the journey, if her evidence could be of any utility to her majesty.

Some particular objections having arisen to the residence which her majesty had selected at Barnes, a treaty was subsequently commenced for Brandenburg-house, formerly the mansion of the Margravine of Anspach, near Hammersmith, and the treaty was, in a short time, satisfactorily concluded.

In the mean time, immense crowds of people continued to assemble round her majesty's house in Portman-street every evening. On the preceding Sunday, the street was completely blocked up till after ten o'clock.

The honourable fraternity of Italian spies and informers was, during this period, secretly and silently increasing in Holland. Mr. B. J. Capper arrived at Dunkirk on Friday the 7th, with five of these new and meritorious claimants upon the English pension-list; and finding at that place some information awaiting him, that the air of England had been found not to agree with the constitution of those who had formerly landed, he proceeded with them to Ostend, and thence to the general depôt, where they were to catechise and drill each other in regard to the evolutions which they would be shortly called upon to perform in the English House of Lords.

Respecting these witnesses, a letter from the Hague, of the 18th of July, says—"The witnesses against the queen (twenty-six in number)

are distributed through the villages adjacent to this place, where they were placed by the secretary of the British embassy, with the aid of the police magistrate. Their appearance, and the purpose for which they are brought hither, have made a strong impression, and the people feel degraded that their country has been selected for an asylum to those who, they suppose, cannot be received in England."

In the House of Lords, on Thursday the 20th, on the motion of the Earl of Liverpool, a committee was appointed to search for precedents relating to the Royal Divorce Bill, and to consider of the most effectual means of enforcing the attendance of the members of that house upon the approaching trial. Among the committee were,

Archbishop of Canterbury

The Earl of Shaftesbury

The Lord Chancellor

Lord Redesdale

The Earl of Liverpool

Viscount Melville

Lord Calthorpe

Lord Holland.

On Friday the 21st, Mr. M. A. Taylor, the recorder, and Messrs. Lester and Dent, members for Poole, presented an address to her majesty. They were received most graciously. Her majesty was observed to be in high spirits, and returned the following answer :

I accept with gratitude this loyal and affectionate address from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Poole. When they speak of the late Princess Charlotte as the best hope of the nation, and of

the late beloved king as the kind protector of my innocence, their language is in perfect unison with the conviction of my mind, and with the feelings of my heart.

I feel no inquietude about the result of the present attack upon my honour and my peace. The charges against me in 1806 had no other origin than malice, and no other support than perjury. The charges against me in 1820 will be found to be equally destitute of proof.

I should have been humiliated beneath contempt if I had suffered my character to become an affair of pecuniary calculation. I should instantly have been deprived of that self-respect which is the basis of virtue, as well as have forfeited the esteem of this noble nation, if, in a late attempt at negotiation on the part of my accusers, I had exhibited a spirit unworthy of a British Queen. If there can be any satisfaction in what is sordid in sentiment and debased in conduct, I willingly resign that to the pusillanimity of my adversaries.

If I can in any way contribute to the happiness of the nation, I shall always consider the augmentation of that happiness as an accession to my own. My welfare is the welfare of the people; their good is my good; and their prosperity is my highest exultation.

I should feel myself unworthy of the elevated station which I occupy if I could approve the practice, or cherish the sentiment of revenge. That principle ought to have no residence in any royal breast.

If England was not my native country, the people of England have rendered it as dear to me as the land of my nativity. In their enlightened sentiments of justice, in their generous affections, and in their steady loyalty, I possess a strength which no menace can shake, and a comfort which no adversity can take away.

In justice to her majesty, it is with pleasure

we insert the following interesting anecdote, and we think it ought to abash the journal whose indiscriminate abuse of her majesty, was the cause of its publicity. We extract it from the *Edinburgh Star*, with a confirmation from the Editor of that paper, of the fact mentioned by his correspondent. The following is the letter :

SIR,—In an article in a late London evening paper, there is the following passage :—“ We trust we shall be excused for saying, that we never heard before of any generous and humane action performed by the queen, either abroad or at home.” It is elsewhere said, in the same article, that, notwithstanding all her majesty’s professions of deep interest in this “ generous people,” she, in fact, does not care one fig for them. How far these observations are well founded may, perhaps, be discovered from the following anecdote. But to enable your readers to understand it, it will be necessary to go into a little previous detail.

This time two years, I went, with a party of friends, to the continent, viz. Holland. In the packet, there was a strange passenger named Comoli, an Italian, a native of Como, who had been settled for some years in Edinburgh as a barometer-maker, &c. This honest man had married an Edinburgh girl, who soon brought him a numerous family ; and as the expense of living is much less in Como than in Edinburgh, he had, a year or two before this period, carried his wife and children to the former place, where he is possessed of a cottage and small plot of land on the lake. He was at this time on a visit to them, intending to go up the Rhine. As he was a good-humoured, intelligent man, and sung us Italian songs, he was a great favourite with us ; and we promised to see him again on our return to Edinburgh.

The other day, as I was passing through St. Mary's Wynd, I observed my friend Comoli's shop, and called to inquire for him and his family. I found him quite solitary, his wife and all his children but one, being still at Como; as he cannot yet afford to bring them here, or to join them there. In the course of conversation, I asked him if he had seen the queen when at Como? He answered in the affirmative, and told me that her majesty was much beloved there, especially by the poor people, to whom she was very kind. In particular he mentioned, and not without evident feelings of gratitude, that her majesty having, one day some time previous to his arrival at Como, seen his wife, and finding from her accent she was a Briton, the queen at once became much interested in her, and having learned that she had five young children, and was but indifferently provided for, though not in absolute poverty her majesty generously gave the good woman a louis d'or, and desired her at all times to come freely to the palace when in any distress, and she would get relief.

This little story (which any of your readers may have an opportunity of authenticating by a conversation with honest Comoli) may, perhaps, appear trifling to some; with me the case is different. A very slight trait is often decisive of a character. There was very little chance of such an action as this becoming known in this country. It would be most uncandid, therefore, to ascribe it to ostentation, or to any other than a purely benevolent motive; and I hope the writer of the article will now be induced to retract his observations above-mentioned, which he seems to have made without due inquiry or consideration.

I am, Sir, &c.

VERUS.

G—— Sq——, 17th July, 1820.

We have seen Comoli, who has repeated to us the above anecdote, with many other circumstances illustrative of her majesty's well-known benevolent disposition.—ED.

On Monday, the 24th, Lord Erskine rose in the House of Lords, and said, it was his duty to present a petition to their lordships on the part of her majesty; and, in presenting it, he must state to the house, that her majesty, as it appeared to him, had made a very just and reasonable request to their lordships. She begged of them, as a list of the witnesses had been refused to her, that she should be furnished with a specification of the times and places when and where it was alleged that she had acted licentiously. The petition was read by his lordship. It was as follows:—

To the Lords Spiritual, &c.

The queen laments that the House of Lords have deemed it proper to refuse her application for a list of the witnesses to be examined in support of the bill of degradation and dissolution of marriage; thus leaving her majesty and her legal advisers in total ignorance as to the time or place to which the charges may relate, or the person by whose testimony the allegations in the bill are intended to be supported.

Her majesty now submits to the House of Lords, that a specification of the place or places in which the criminal acts are charged to have been committed, should forthwith be furnished to her majesty's attorney-general; for, if this be denied, it will be impossible to be prepared to meet the accusation, or to take preliminary measures for providing

defensive evidence against the charges, without bringing from every place her majesty has visited during the last six years, every witness who had any means of observing her majesty's conduct.

Her majesty further desires to be heard by her counsel and agent, at your lordships' bar, in support of this her request.

Lord Erskine hoped that this last part of the petition would not be refused; but that their lordships would give immediate orders to have her counsel called in, that they might point out the propriety of adopting the course required. His lordship knew nothing at all as to the places at which the offence was said to have been perpetrated: it was only known that various parts of the south of Europe were said to have been the scenes of this alleged licentiousness: and the charge being that of the commission of criminal acts during a period of six years, it was utterly impossible to meet it unless their lordships granted the specification called for, or after they had heard the evidence in support of the charge, they would allow the queen a fair time for her defence, by adjourning the house to such a period as would give her an opportunity of having the assistance of counter-witnesses. He must say, and felt it to be his duty strongly to declare, that, if her request was not complied with, she would not have that opportunity, which during a long professional experience, he had always considered of the utmost importance—

that of seeing the witnesses face to face, and of confronting them with others by whom they might be contradicted. As he had told their lordships before, and he felt it from the bottom of his heart, he conceived that if they adjourned the examination, they would not take the best mode of administering justice: they would, he thought, take away from the dignity and honour of the house, if witnesses were sent away before they were fully cross-examined; and yet this must be the case if her majesty were unacquainted with those who were to appear against her, or with the places to which their statements related.

The petition was then handed to the clerk by Lord Erskine, but it was not read by him.

The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Liverpool, and Earl Bathurst contended, that if the time and place were to be specified at which adultery was charged, the inquiry before their lordships must be of a very limited description. Suppose evidence to be given of a material character, but not corresponding to the alleged time and place, would their lordships think it right to strike out such evidence? This was not even done in other proceedings of divorce: and with regard to what had been said about the queen's conduct at Milan, that referred only to a single place, and to a particular period of the time to which the whole charge referred. The 17th August had been fixed to the supposed satisfaction of all

parties. Their lordships had not deemed it right to furnish a list of the witnesses, and they were now desired to inform the queen of the places at which the alleged improprieties had occurred. If her majesty meant to defend her case on the 17th of August, this application was perfectly absurd; because she could make no use of the indulgence by a period so early. If the prayer of the petition were good for any thing, it ought to be accompanied by an objection to so early a commencement of the proceedings.

Lord Holland made a few observations. The house then divided upon Lord Erskine's motion, which was rejected by 37 to 12.

On the rejection of this petition we shall make but a few remarks, as the objection which we have before adverted to, has been in this instance repeated. To grant a specification of time and place, is not consistent with the form of the proceedings. It is, however, unfortunate that a mode of proceeding should have been adopted by which not the defendant, for that supposes a crime known to the law—not the person to be tried, for that also supposes an illegal act—but the person who is to be afflicted by a new law, in a mode for which our language furnishes no correct expression, is to be deprived of the natural means of proving the falsehood of the allegations which are made the reason of this infliction.

It has seldom fallen to our lot to notice a more infamous personal libel—a more gross outrage

upon the decencies of social life—a more audacious insult to public justice, than a paragraph from a provincial paper, relative to her majesty, which at this time attracted the public attention. It appeared in Flyndell's *Western Luminary*, and was as follows :

“ Shall a woman who is as notoriously devoted to *Bacchus* as to *Venus*—shall such a woman as would, if found on our pavement, *be committed to Bridewell and whipped*—be held up in the light of suffering innocence ?”

This infamous and unparelleled libel formed the subject of a motion in the House of Commons by Mr. Wetherell, the purport of which was to direct the attorney-general to prosecute the printer and publisher of the paper in which the libel appeared. An argument ensued upon the motion, but it was at length withdrawn, it being considered beneath the dignity of her majesty to take any notice of such a slanderous libel.

In the House of Lords, the Earl of Shaftesbury laid on the table the report of the committee appointed to inquire into precedents relative to the enforcement of the attendance of peers during great and solemn occasions. The report was read by the clerk. It set forth—

The committee appointed by their lordships to search the journals for precedents as to the best means of enforcing the attendance of peers of this house during the proceedings on a bill entitled “ An Act to deprive her majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges,

and exemptions, of queen consort of these realms, and to dissolve the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth"—Ordered to report. The committee have met, searched the journals, and found the precedents annexed to this report; and the committee are of opinion, that, if the house think fit, the following resolutions should be agreed to:—

Resolved, That no lord do absent himself, on pain of incurring a fine of 100*l.* for each day's absence pending the three first days of such proceedings, and of 50*l.* for each subsequent day's absence from the same; and in default of payment of any and every such fine, of being taken into custody.

Resolved, That no excuses be admitted, save disability from age, *viz.*, being of the age of 70 years and upwards, or from sickness, or having been out of the realm in foreign parts on the 10th of July instant, being the day on which the order for the second reading of the said bill was made, and continuing out of the same; or out of Great Britain on his majesty's service, or on account of the death of a parent, wife, or child.

Resolved, That every peer absenting himself from age or sickness do address a letter to the lord chancellor, stating, upon his honour, that he is so disabled.

Resolved, That the lord chancellor do write a letter to the several peers and prelates of the house, in the following terms; and that a copy of the said resolutions do accompany the same:—

‘ My lord,—I am commanded by the House of Lords to acquaint you, that the house expects your lordship's attendance upon the second reading of the bill, entitled “An Act to deprive her majesty,” &c., on Thursday the 17th day of August next, at ten of the clock in the forenoon: and that it is the further order of the house that no lord shall absent himself from the service of the house upon the second read-

ing of the said bill, or on any of the subsequent proceedings of the house upon the same, without the leave of the house, upon pain of incurring the displeasure of the house.'

On the motion of the Earl of Shaftesbury, the resolutions of the committee were agreed to. His lordship then moved an address to his majesty in the above mentioned terms, which was also agreed to.

An address was at this time presented to her majesty, signed by 7,800 females of the town of Nottingham, in which they say—

We would not wring anew your feelings, they have been too often wrung; yet when we consider this, we are not surprised that, though you are not defended by the drawn sabres of the military, you are always surrounded by your guards; thus imitating the example of the magnanimous Queen Elizabeth, trusting your defence to a brave people, who will not be deterred by any power under heaven to forsake you in the day of peril. All in whom the spirit of the days of chivalry are not utterly extinct, all who would not immolate the best impulses of our nature on the altar of modern policy, will rally round their queen, and save her alike from foreign emissaries and spies, and domestic persecutors.

To this address her majesty returned the following answer :

I should be deficient in sensibility if I had not felt the warmest gratitude and more than ordinary delight, when I received from the female inhabitants of the town of Nottingham and its vicinity, an address, which is remarkable for the amiable spirit which it breathes, and for the fervor of attachment to my person and rights which it displays. I am proud of being the queen of women of such generous senti-

ments : and I am happy to remark that such sentiments indicate an increased and increasing cultivation of the female mind.

To be conscious that the hearts of so large a portion of my own sex are vibrating with emotions of affection for his majesty's royal consort, that they are sympathising with her sorrows, and deprecating her wrongs, and that her happiness is the object of their pious supplications, cannot but awaken in my breast the most pleasurable sensations. The same spirit of devotedness to the fair fame, to the lawful rights, and to the general interests of a persecuted queen, which animates the female inhabitants of Nottingham, is, I trust, diffused through a large majority of their countrywomen. They will consider the honour of her majesty as reflected upon themselves—they will best know how to appreciate the vexations by which I have been harassed, the slanders by which I have been assailed, and the indignities by which I have been oppressed.

With the most gentle delicacy the female inhabitants of the town Nottingham and its vicinity have touched those springs of grief in my heart which will ever continue painfully to vibrate at the recollection of the near and dear relatives of whom I have been bereaved, and particularly of that departed saint in whose talents, and whose virtues, the women have lost a model of the most estimable excellence, and the nation in general a future sovereign, under whose fostering care that liberty would have flourished which gives happiness to the people and security to the throne.

The deputation from the city of Rochester waited upon her majesty on the 26th with their address, and her majesty was pleased to return the following gracious answer :

This loyal, warm, and ingenuous address, entitles the

citizens and inhabitants of Rochester to my most cordial thanks. When they make my return to these realms the topic of congratulation, and my former departure from England the subject of regret, their joy and their sorrow are mingled with my own.

The affectionate manner in which the citizens and inhabitants of Rochester mention my two deceased, most dear, and most lamented relatives, powerfully touches every chord of sensibility in my breast. I still mourn over their graves—but not as one without hope. That beloved daughter of whom I have been bereaved, was once my exhilarating delight, and his late revered majesty my unalterable trust. Had their lives been happily protracted, I should not now have to contend against that malice, and those calumnies, by which I am so rancorously assailed.

My constitutional rights are, at present, attacked in an unconstitutional manner. If, in this country, the life, the property, and the reputation of the most humble individual are safe within the sanctuary of the laws, surely those laws ought not to be violated on purpose to deprive the queen of her rank, her title, and her truly legitimate rights.

If, as a subject, I am answerable to the laws, let those laws be sacredly observed in the judicial investigation of my conduct. Let me not, by any proceeding, which if it retains the form of justice is conceived in the spirit of tyranny, be put at once out of the protecting pale of the law, and the tutelary guardianship of the Constitution.

I have no wish—I can have no wish to leave this enlightened, this hospitable country. In what other part of the world could I find, or expect to find, a people so affectionate, friends so steady, or a home in which I have so little to fear from the machinations of my enemies?

The same day an address was presented to her

majesty from the town of Morpeth, to which her majesty gave the following answer :

I am unfeignedly obliged to the worthy inhabitants of the town of Morpeth and its vicinity, for their loyal and affectionate address ; and particularly for their condolence upon those severe domestic losses which have often agonised my heart. I no sooner set my foot on British shore, after my late long absence, than I felt that I was respiring the air of freedom, and was in the midst of a generous people, amongst whom the persecuted and oppressed can never want a friend. Their sublime sentiments and their virtuous sympathies were instantly excited in favour of an injured queen. From the south to the north, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, the spark of enthusiastic loyalty has been kindled in every breast. If the age of chivalry were ever past, I have lived to see it revived anew.

I humbly solicit, and boldly challenge, any open, any legal investigation ; and, the more my character is investigated, the more, I trust, it will be found to be intimately embodied with the principles of rectitude. I wish for life, only to make others feel that it is a blessing to live.

I consider my rights and privileges, as queen consort of the sovereign, to be a part of the sacred patrimony of the British nation ; and, I will defend them with intrepid constancy, for their benefit rather than for my own personal gratification. The rights and liberties of the people are the best safeguard of the sovereign, and while I live I shall pray for their everlasting preservation.

The queen this week sent a communication to the House of Lords, informing their lordships of her intention to be present every day during the investigation, which is to take place in support of the Bill of Pains and Penalties relating to her, which has been introduced into the house by

Lord Liverpool. Her Majesty also desired that their lordships will order a seat to be provided for her in the House of Lords, so situated that she may be enabled to hear distinctly all the evidence that may be produced in the course of the investigation.

Lord Duncannon waited on her majesty on the 27th, with an address from the town of Wakefield and its vicinity, to which her majesty returned the following answer :

I receive with heartfelt satisfaction, this loyal and affectionate address from his majesty's subjects, inhabitants of the town of Wakefield, and its vicinity. Their sentiments of congratulation on my accession to the high dignity of queen of these realms, are a proof that their minds have not been unduly influenced by the flagitious calumnies of my persecutors ; and I am, at the same time, feelingly alive to their expressions of kind condolence upon the melancholy losses of those near and dear relatives, which I experienced while on the Continent.

I am sensible of the indignities with which I have been assailed, not so much because they are disrespectful to myself, as because they are insulting to the nation ; for the nation has been insulted in the late outrages upon the character of its lawful queen. Though I am attacked by *that malice, which hesitates at no falsehood*, and by an *assumption of power*, which seems to *spurn all limitation*, I feel a cheering confidence of present support, and of effectual triumph in the affections of the people.

I have been accused of appealing to popular clamour—but I appeal to nothing but to the good sense and good feeling—to the reason—the morality and the patriotism of the most enlightened and most respectable portion of the community. *If I am to be condemned without justice, and*

dethroned against all law, the liberties of every individual will receive a fatal stab ; and the character of the highest judicature will be blasted to the latest posterity.

My own personal welfare is of little moment ; but I do feel as a queen for the public welfare, which is deeply implicated in the vindication of my violated rights.

The power which the *House of Lords* are assuming in their Bill of Pains and Penalties, not only of divorcing his majesty's royal consort, but of *dethroning their lawful queen*, may prove in their result productive of an age of misery to the nation. The child that is now at the breast, may live to rue its consequences.

The consciousness of rectitude, *of which no Bill of Pains and Penalties can ever deprive me*, will support me through all trials ; and, even though the force of my enemies should, in the end, prove commensurate with their malignity, the people shall never have occasion to reproach me with neglecting their happiness, *with betraying their rights*, or *with relinquishing, for one moment, the patriotic magnanimity of the queen.*

This answer of her majesty's set her enemies all upon the alert, for they saw in it an incitement to rebellion, and designs the most mischievous. It was described as stirring up the people to revolution, and instilling into their minds the true spirit of disaffection to the laws. The bitterest terms of reproach were vented against her majesty, and her arrival in this country was represented as a baneful meteor, blasting the happiness of the nation. We believe it may be retorted with truth, that they are the real destroyers of the happiness of the nation, who by the accumu-

lated indignities which they offered to her majesty, forced her to seek a refuge in the bosom of a noble and a generous nation.

We cannot refrain inserting the following beautiful lines, which were at this time written on the distressing situation of her majesty :

She has come unarray'd in the pomp and the splendor,

That royalty throws round the steps of a queen ;

And turns to her foes without guard or defender,

Majestic in sorrow, in danger serene.

Where is the child of her bosom who bless'd her ?—

Where is the monarch who mourn'd o'er her woes,

Who guarded her rights when injustice oppress'd her,

Who solac'd her sorrows and silenc'd her foes ?

That child of her bosom the cold tomb encloses—

That hope of her heart has for ever gone by !

That monarch who lov'd her in silence reposes,

Untouch'd by her tear, and unwak'd by her sigh !

But though the best beams of her life have departed,

Enough of their heavenly light yet remains

To kindle the breasts of the warm and true hearted,

And waken a fervor in loyalty's veins.

She wants not the pageantry pomp could throw round her,

The brightest of diadems circles her brow !

O, if in the full pride of power we'd found her

Had she been half so dear to our bosoms as now ?

No, the sun-beam that struggles through clouds in the morning

But comes forth more bright in the fullness of day ;

And she yet will shine forth like that sun-beam adorning

The kingdom which Heaven ordain'd her to sway.

Being particularly desirous to lay before our readers every account which transpires of the

character of the Italian witnesses which are pensioned to appear against her majesty, we subjoin the following extract of a letter received from Trieste, dated the 12th of July :

From the hotel in this city, called the *Locanda grande*, two waiters have departed for London to appear as witnesses against the Queen of England. Besides their travelling expenses, they are each allowed ten francs daily. You, who know the degrading employment to which fellows of this description voluntarily offer themselves for a few scudi, will doubt with me the credit they are likely to confer on those who employ them.

It being also our particular desire to enrich these Memoirs with the character and connexions of the individuals who form so prominent a figure in this unprecedented affair, we, in the first instance, lay before our readers an account of the principal actor in the various scenes through which her majesty passed on the Continent, and which totally falsifies the report that Bergami was originally of low extraction. By way of an offset to this ridiculous slur upon him, the origin of Lord Castlereagh and Sir John Leach has been examined, and it was found that neither of them could boast an origin equally respectable with Bergami. This is not meant by way of disparagement to those two individuals, on the contrary, it is honourable to them; but persons who are afflicted with a particular disease, should abstain from reprobating another, who is so unfortunate as to be afflicted with the same malady.

On the first introduction of Bergami into the household of her majesty, then Princess of Wales, we find him holding the situation of cabinet courier, an officer entrusted with despatches of great importance, and usually a person entitled to particular confidence. He was a man who was acquainted with different languages, accustomed to travel, and deemed by those with whom he was acquainted to possess extensive information; added to this, he was of a respectable family, which, by unforeseen and unfortunate circumstances, had been reduced from a state of opulence to a situation of comparative poverty. The honourable marriages of M. Bergami's three sisters, prove, at least, that he was not of the "low station" which has been averred. The first was married to Count Oldi; the second to M. Servergrini, of an ancient family at Cremona; and the third to M. Martini de Lodi, brother of the ex-secretary general of the captaincy of Padua, when commanded by his excellency the Baron de Goez. M. Bergami, the eldest son, soaring beyond his bad fortune, and recollecting the past honourable condition of his family, embraced a military life, and was attached to the etat-major of the troops commanded by his Excellency the General Count Pino, in the late campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814, as attested by the following declaration of General Major Galimberti:

I declare that M. le Baron Bartolomo Bergami, of Cremona, knight of Malta, has served in the etat-major of the

troops, commanded by his Excellency Count Pino, lieutenant-general, to whom I was the chief of the etat-major, in the late campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814.

(Signed) Le Général-Major GALIMBERTI.

Dated Milan, November 1, 1816.

Seen and certified by me, Lieut.-General Count PINO.

Her majesty soon discovered in M. Bergami an intelligence above the situation in which he was placed, and as the reward of his faithful services, she gradually raised him to the rank of her equerry, and from thence to that of her chamberlain. She was acquainted with the misfortunes of his family, and long experience increased for him her esteem. She became particularly interested in his favour, procured for him a barony in Sicily, decorated him with several orders of knighthood, and in fact did every thing in her power to mark her sense of the repeated proofs which he had afforded of his attachment to her person and interests during her long and fatiguing tour. On her return to Italy too, she took two of his brothers as well as his sister into her service. M. Louis Bergami presided over her household, Mr. Sicard having returned to England; and M. Vollotti Bergami formerly under-prefect at Cremona, was the comptroller of her disbursements. Such appear to be the real state of the facts with regard to this individual. We shall only add, that M. Bergami continued in her majesty's service down to her departure from St. Omer's. He travelled with her majesty from Pesaro, leaving behind him

his wife and sisters, but bringing with him his daughter, an amiable child, seven years of age, whom her majesty had adopted, and to whom she was particularly partial, from its extraordinary acquirements at so early an age. This interesting little *protégé* of her majesty was perfect mistress of French and Italian, and had no inconsiderable skill in music and other fashionable accomplishments. Such was her natural attachment to her parent, however, that she could not be induced to accompany her majesty to England, and returned with her father to Italy.

In person, M. Bergami is a man of about five feet eleven inches in height, of a military aspect, large mustachios and whiskers, dark complexion and eyes, a bold but agreeable countenance, and of robust form.

On the 31st of July, her majesty received the address from the borough of Ilchester, which in point of literary talent, is evidently the production of a superior mind. Our limits will not permit us to transcribe it, but her majesty felt the force of it by the sentiments expressed by her in the following answer:

I return my grateful thanks to the inhabitants of the borough of Ilchester and its vicinity, for an address in which so much affection is manifested for my person, so much zeal for my rights, and so much sympathy for my sufferings.

My late beloved daughter well knew her mother's injuries; and her noble nature made them her own. Over her untimely end, if I wept as a parent, the whole nation mourned

like an individual. The grief was one and the same in all. Every man felt as if he had lost a friend ; and that friend his solace in the passing day, and his hope in the time that was to come.

When I call to mind the form of his late majesty, oppressed with afflictions, and bending with age, I ought not, perhaps, to lament over that event which put an end to his sufferings, and made him exchange his earthly crown for a crown more permanent. But my gratitude will not suffer me to forget that his majesty was my protector in adversity ; and my heart, still sorrowing, tells me that that protector is no more.

I should, even according to the confession of my accusers, have been guilty of no sin if I had never revisited this country ; that was my great transgression, and that has been rendered more inexpiable by this circumstance—that I no sooner came than the affections of the people all circled round their queen.

If to possess the affections of the people be a proof of guilt, how can I ever show that I am innocent ? Could I prevent, or was I to try to prevent, the stream of popular sympathy from running forcibly in favour of majesty insulted, and of integrity reviled ? If the nation could have contemplated the many wrongs I have experienced, and the greater wrongs with which I am threatened, with severe indifference, or with sluggish apathy, it would not have been composed of men and women ; it would have been constituted of beings without sensibility or intelligence. But the British people are made of better materials. No nation has more right reason, or more good feeling ; and this is a truth of which I can never be unconscious as long as one particle of life is streaming in my veins.

After the deputation withdrew, her majesty went to North-street, Finsbury-square, to view

the school, called the Royal Institution, for 1,000 boys and 300 girls, of which the Duke and Duchess of Kent were patrons. Her majesty expressed the most lively satisfaction at the order and regularity which pervaded the establishment, and the interesting appearance of the children, for whom she left a liberal donation.

The same day two of her majesty's witnesses arrived from Milan, one of whom performed the journey in the short period of six days. We are assured, upon the most undoubted authority, that her majesty experiences great difficulty in bringing to this country the witnesses necessary for her defence.—The governor of Milan states, that he cannot give passports to any witnesses except those who may have belonged to her majesty's household, without previously sending to Vienna for authority. Thus the defence of the Queen of England is made to depend upon the will and pleasure of the Emperor of Austria.

The board of works began on the 31st of July to make arrangements for the alterations in the interior of the House of Lords, for the accommodation of the peers during the trial of the queen. Mr. Soane, architect to this board, together with some lords of the committee, and Sir T. Tyrwhitt, were in attendance. All the peers' benches have been removed into the king's robing-room; the woolsacks have been covered, and the new throne is being enclosed, preparatory to the workmen beginning to raise a gallery on each side of the

house for the extra accommodation of their lordships. These two galleries will be high enough to enable peers to pass to their seats underneath them. The lords' seats in the body of the house will be restored to their former stations, and in their previous order; but some extension of them at the upper end of the house, on each side of the throne, is only at present contemplated. The partition at the lower end of the house, called the Bar, is to remain as it is; but portions of it will be separated from the space allotted to "strangers," to accommodate the counsel, agents, solicitors, witnesses, &c., according to the plan pursued in the investigation of the Berkeley peerage. The accommodation to be afforded to the queen was not finally arranged.

During the adjournment of parliament a good deal of correspondence took place between her majesty's advisers and Lord Liverpool, on the subject of a town residence for her majesty. Her majesty pointed out one in St. James's-square, another in South Audley-street, that of the Duke of Cambridge, which he was at this time about to quit on his return to Hanover, and some others, to all of which some objection was raised by his majesty's ministers. On the other hand, other houses were proposed to her majesty, but which it was well known would be rejected, before the offer was made.

In the mean time her majesty was by no means idle in regard to the arrangement necessary for

her approaching trial. She despatched Mr. Henry, a barrister of some eminence, and conversant with the Italian language, to Italy, in order to select her majesty's witnesses, and it was understood that every facility would be afforded to him by the government of this country. It must, however, be observed, that no witness can depart from Milan without a passport from the Austrian government, and, judging from the side which that power has espoused in this momentous proceeding, some alarm is excited, that a refusal of the passport may be made to certain individuals, and thus the ends of justice may be defeated, and her majesty prevented from rebutting the evidence which is brought against her.

Her majesty also made the necessary preparations for going down to the house of peers, during what may be termed her trial, in a manner consistent with her rank and dignity. A new and splendid carriage was ordered to be built without delay, with appropriate harness for six horses, and in this equipage it is the intention of her majesty to go daily to the house of peers, attended by her servants in state liveries.

Previously to her majesty setting out on the 1st of August, to visit some charitable institutions, in company with Alderman Wood, she received an address from the inhabitants of Sunderland, to which her majesty returned the following answer :

I am greatly obliged to the loyal inhabitants of Sunder-

land and its vicinity, for their cordial congratulations upon my accession to the high dignity of queen consort of these realms; and for the generous zeal which they express in favour of my lawful rights, and my personal happiness.

A foul conspiracy against my honour and my life has been prosecuted for many years; and seems at present to be reaching the very climax of iniquity. Originating in this country, it long endeavoured to effect its purpose by all the fraud and falsehood it could procure here; and when that failed, it determined to overwhelm me with infamy, by bringing a mass of perjury from the continent.

Every person who can reflect upon the consequences of passing events, or who can read the danger of the future in the dark aspect of the present, must be convinced that the public welfare is, at this moment, intimately identified with the preservation of my rights and dignities as the royal consort of his majesty. General tyranny usually begins with individual oppression. If the highest subject in the realm can be deprived of her rank and title—can be divorced, dethroned, and debased, by an act of arbitrary power, in the form of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, the constitutional liberty of the kingdom will be shaken to its very base. The rights of the nation will be only a scattered wreck, and this once free people like the meanest of slaves, must submit to the lash of an insolent domination.

For several days past it had been understood that her majesty would take up her residence at Brandenburg-house. From various causes her departure had been postponed, but Thursday the 3d was fixed positively for her majesty to leave the metropolis. At an early hour on Thursday morning, Portman-street was in consequence filled with carriages and persons anxious to see her majesty

before she quitted the capital. At about two o'clock, the hour at which it was supposed her majesty would take her departure, the crowd opposite the house was excessive, and loud cries of "God save the queen! God bless her majesty!" were heard from every quarter. The queen was graciously pleased, on two several occasions, to show herself at the balcony, and bowed condescendingly to the people. A short time after two o'clock it was understood that her majesty had altered her determination, and, in consequence of the indisposition of Lady Anne Hamilton, had postponed her visit to Brandenburg-house until Saturday following. The consequence was, that some part of the crowd dispersed. We understand that the carriage was actually counter-ordered, and that a person was about to be sent down to Hammersmith to postpone the preparations. At nearly three o'clock Mr. Alderman Wood arrived on horseback, and was greeted with loud huzzas. Soon after his arrival, a servant was despatched to order the carriage to be got in readiness, her majesty having determined not to disappoint the expectations of the inhabitants of Hammersmith. At this moment the street was completely thronged with persons, some of them of the highest respectability, anxious to pay their respects to her majesty. Many ladies of rank attended in their carriages, and gentlemen on horseback awaited the appearance of her majesty. At length, at nearly four o'clock, her majesty's

carriage drew up to the door; it was an entirely new elegant open carriage, drawn by four beautiful bay horses; the near leader was mounted by a postillion: the livery was scarlet, trimmed with gold lace. On the pannels of the carriage was painted a crown, and underneath, the letters "C. R." In about ten minutes her majesty made her appearance at the door of her house, and was immediately handed into the carriage. Her majesty seemed to be in high spirits, and looked remarkably well: she was dressed in a dove-coloured pelisse, with a hat of the same colour, surmounted by a very handsome plume of white feathers. Lady Anne Hamilton next made her appearance, and was followed by Dr. Lushington and Mr. Alderman Wood. Loud cries of "God save the queen!" accompanied with shouts of approbation, filled the air. The carriage drove off at a fast trot into Oxford-street, followed by a great concourse of persons. It proceeded through the park, and out at Kensington-gate. In consequence of a mizzling rain which fell at this time, the carriage, which was previously open, was closed, and it continued shut during the remainder of the way to Hammersmith. The road was completely lined in many parts with people; ladies were seen from every window, waving white handkerchiefs, and crying "God save the queen." At the barracks at Kensington we observed a great number of the military join in the general shout: they took off their hats, and waved them in the air as

her majesty passed. When her majesty arrived at Hammersmith, the scene was extremely interesting. All were prepared to receive her majesty, and the little charity children, dressed in their Sunday clothes, were stationed near the church, to welcome her majesty's arrival. Before the carriage reached Hammersmith, a body of gentlemen on horseback, with white favours in their hats, came to meet her majesty, and they were greeted with loud cheers. They accompanied the carriage until it reached Brandenburg-house. The town of Hammersmith was completely filled, and on the arrival of the queen the cheers were so vehement as to have a deafening effect; guns were discharged, and the bells of the church were rung. Her majesty most condescendingly bowed to the people as she passed. The carriage proceeded immediately to Brandenburg-house, and drove through the great gate at the grand entrance up the avenue of trees to the front of the mansion. Her majesty, Lady Anne Hamilton, and Mr. Alderman Wood and Dr. Lushington, then alighted. The carriage was followed by two or three others filled with ladies of rank, who were desirous of paying their respects to her majesty. Her majesty dined at Brandenburg-house, and did not return in the evening.

In the course of the evening a great number of the houses in the town were illuminated with variegated lamps, torches, and candles; guns of various sorts were discharged, and especially on

the river, adjoining the grounds of Brandenburg-house, which was covered with boats.

Previously to her departure for Brandenburg-house, her majesty received an address from the borough of Lewes, to which the following answer was given :

The high constable, burgesses, and other inhabitants of the ancient borough of Lewes, are requested to accept my cordial thanks for this loyal and affectionate address. My heart is in perfect unison with the expressions which they use in their topics of condolence. I felt the loss of his late venerable majesty to be, indeed, irreparable ; for he stood like the angel of mercy between me and persecuting cruelty. The untimely end of the late beloved Princess Charlotte seemed, for a moment, to throw the shadow of death over the land. The voice of merriment was mute in our streets ; and the gaiety of the nation suffered a temporary eclipse. It was the unbought tribute of loyalty, the spontaneous offering of love in thousands—nay, in millions, to those bright properties of the mind, and those tender qualities of the heart, in which the people read a cheering presage of her glory, and of the public happiness.

The machinations of my enemies are supported by a faction, that has long operated like a canker-worm upon the noble trunk of the national prosperity. If I would have stooped to become an instrument in their hands, or to have lent myself to their sordid purposes, I might have averted their vengeance, or have neutralised their hostility. In the year 1807, this faction were eager to make use of my power as the means of gratifying their ambition : and when their ambition could not be gratified by other means, they immediately sacrificed my honour and my rights upon the altar of their selfishness.

That calm wisdom which is the result at once of reflection and of experience, teaches me that I ought never to give my sanction to the narrow views of any sect, or to the interested projects of any party. That comprehensive charity which kindles in my heart shall be visible in my conduct; and I will never forget that the queen of a faction is only half a queen. The good of a faction is only the good of a few: but the good which I cherish is that of the community.

The queen's replies to the addresses of her subjects, became now the general theme of invective by the hangers-on of ministers. In all these answers her majesty continued to express her confidence in the affections of her people, and solemnly to assert her innocence of the infamous crimes which have been imputed to her. These documents, or as they may be more properly denominated, the state-papers of her majesty, are occasionally characterized by solemn warnings of the fatal consequences which may result to the country, if upon a mere shew of justice, she shall be deprived of those dignities to which by her rank, she is so justly entitled. It cannot have escaped the observation of our readers that the queen, in some of her recent acknowledgments for public addresses, has thrown out hints at the motives which she suspects to have actuated one or two of her quondam counsellors and present accusers. This has put the daily advocates of ministers beside themselves, and it will never be forgiven. By them the queen is reproached

for using strong language when she speaks of the charges brought against her, and of the evidence by which alone they can, in her opinion, be upheld. Now let us ask any one of the honest matrons of all ranks throughout this country, who value virtue far more than life, and reputation next to virtue, how she would feel, aye, and how she would express herself if she were put upon her trial for crimes which she abhorred? If conscious of that innocence which the law assumes, and which she herself asserts to be untainted, is there a lady in this land of moral and exemplary women, who, in reply to the affectionate confidence of her friends, would not disdain to keep measures with her assailants? Is there a virtuous Englishwoman living, who would hesitate at repelling with every mark of inextinguishable scorn and disgust, a charge so heinous as adultery? Well, then, the queen loudly proclaims her innocence; she alleges that fraudulent and wicked means have been taken to ransack the dregs of a depraved community for materials by which to bolster up this charge. The queen must know best her own guilt or innocence; if knowing the latter, she has a right—she is bound—to assert it. The very assertion of her innocence is a direct condemnation of the means by which it has been impugned. Unless her majesty were to use ironical terms—to say of her prosecutors that they were “well-meaning, but mistaken, men”—and of the witnesses that “they might be very honest people, whose senses

or imaginations had in some perverse manner deceived them ;"—unless she resorted to such figures of speech, she must either confess herself guilty of adultery, or, in averring her own purity, pronounce that the prosecution is iniquitous, and that the witnesses are forsworn. In common justice to the queen, we insist that she, as the party prosecuted, has a right to use such language ; and much more so, when it is taken into consideration that she has petitioned and protested, over and over again, against the course of measures pursued by her adversaries, which in her judgment take away from her the chance of a fair trial, and leave her no refuge but in her appeals to mankind at large, to her own innocence, and to Heaven.

We now proceed to lay two documents before our readers, relating to the unhappy question between their majesties. These documents have imparted fresh splendor to the illustrious name of Russell, but the matter contained in them, would be enough to distinguish from the vulgar herd any individual, however obscure in fortune, who had no title to eminence, but from them alone. The first of these documents, is a letter from Lord J. Russell to Mr. Wilberforce ; the second is in the form of a petition to his majesty. Both productions unite, in an extraordinary degree, deep feeling with accurate reasoning. The feeling, indeed, is of a nature which men of all parties must subscribe to, since it is one of serious alarm for the existence at least for the

peace of the country, let the pending trial of the queen result in her condemnation or acquittal.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO MR. WILBERFORCE.

Tunbridge-wells, Aug. 3, 1820.

SIR,—I address to you a public letter, because you are a public man on whom much depends. Although I generally differ with you in politics, I warmly admire your generous efforts for the welfare of mankind, and I believe you capable of doing at this moment a great benefit to your country. For this reason I communicate to you, in the form of a petition to the king, my sentiments on the one subject of the present day. The whigs, as you well know, have no power whatever. It is useless for them to originate any thing. If they move in part, they are defeated by a ministerial majority: if they attend public meetings, it is said they are endeavouring to bring about a revolution, and new laws to restrain freedom are immediately enacted. But you, sir, and some others, whose support is the sole strength of administration, are bound to interfere if they bate any thing of the wisdom and prudence which you attribute to their general conduct.

In the following paper I have given no opinion on the guilt or innocence of the queen. I regret and disapprove of the measure of leaving her majesty's name out of the Liturgy—I regret, though I cannot severely blame, the language of many of the addresses that have been presented to her.

I do not wish to prejudge a question of which we know nothing. I have also omitted many topics that might have been insisted upon, you are perfectly aware of the nature of the discussions that will take place, and the temper in which they will be met. In your hands is, perhaps, sir, the fate

of this country. The future historian will ask, whether it was right to risk the welfare of England—her boasted constitution—her national power—on the event of an inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, in her villa upon the lake of Como? From the majority which followed you in the House of Commons, he will conclude you had the power to prevent the die being thrown. He will ask, if you wanted the inclination?

I remain, your faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN RUSSELL.

The humble Petition of ——— to his Majesty the King.

We, your majesty's most dutiful and obedient subjects, approach your majesty with feelings of the deepest anxiety and the most profound respect, but at the same time with a firm conviction of the uprightness of our intentions, to address your majesty on the subject of her majesty the queen.

Were the conduct of the queen a private matter, were it a subject that concerned your majesty alone, we should be the last persons to intrude with our advice, or to delay the trial of the queen's conduct a single instant. But your majesty has nobly shown that you consider it a matter of public import: your majesty has proved, by offers of an amicable arrangement, that you were ready to allow a queen charged with a total abandonment of her duty still to retain the title of your wife, and to be notified as such to the powers of Europe. It was only when the queen landed in England, that your majesty interfered on behalf of the public interests and the public morals of the country, and sent down to your Houses of Parliament the information which had been received respecting her majesty's conduct abroad.

To your majesty, therefore, it would be superfluous,

and consequently indecorous, to urge that persons of your exalted station are not raised to such eminent rank for the purpose of involving their subjects in all their domestic differences; but, viewing this difficult question as your majesty has viewed it—namely, as a matter of state—we must be permitted to express our doubts whether your majesty has been wisely advised to bring it forward at all. It appears that your majesty's servants have thought right to proceed against the queen by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. Far be it from us to canvass whether any proceeding could have been instituted in the Ecclesiastical or other courts, or whether the queen could have been constitutionally impeached. We bow to the decision of the great law authorities by whom the throne is surrounded; and we conclude, that as no method of trial known to the ordinary tribunals, nor even the extraordinary mode of impeachment, has been adopted, that a bill was the only proceeding that could reach the offence of the queen. But we cannot disguise from ourselves that a bill inflicting penalties ought in very few cases indeed to be resorted to. If impeachment has been likened to Goliath's sword, which should only be brought out of the temple on solemn occasions, how much more is this observation true of single laws made for a single case, which at once create the offence, regulate the proof, decide upon the evidence, and invent the punishment?—a mode of criminal conviction so anomalous, and so fearfully liable to injustice, as to have been censured and rejected by many of the most enlightened men of ancient and modern times—not writing in the heat of blood, but placing beacons to guide states and empires in the right course of legislation*. Without yielding to their arguments, we may be permitted

* *Leges in priores homines nolunt ferri: id enim est privilegium; quo quid est injustius?—Cicero.* See also *Paley*.

to observe, that, when the parliament of England has sanctioned laws against individuals, it has usually been either when the accused person fled from trial, as in the cases of the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Bolingbroke—or when a sudden insurrection and invasion to change the dynasty were apprehended—or when peculiar circumstances occurred, as in the case of Sir John Fenwick, who, after a bill was found against him by a grand jury, defrauded justice by a pretended contrition; and, abusing the lenity of the law and the mercy of his prosecutors, bribed one of the witnesses against him to go abroad. But in this case what is the reason for a Bill of Pains and Penalties? Has the queen fled from justice? Is there a paramount state necessity for punishment? Are there any circumstances leading us to suppose that justice will be defrauded if this bill does not pass? That the queen has not fled from justice is not only the admission, but forms one of the chief charges of her prosecutors. This point, therefore, requires no proof. Is there then a paramount state necessity? We confess we are unable to perceive it. The queen, it is well known, has for many years unhappily been separated from your majesty, and during the last six years, indeed, has resided out of this country. It is impossible, therefore, for any sober-minded man to maintain that there is a danger lest the succession of the crown be tainted. As little, or nearly as little, is there any danger for the future. The great point of the succession then—the only one on which the conduct of the queen is of paramount interest to the state—is not affected. Even if we go a step further, and inquire whether the behaviour of the queen has affected the public morals of England? To this question, also, we must reply in the negative. The queen has been several years resident abroad. Whether, as her enemies affirm, her life was licentious—or whether, as her friends stoutly maintain, she upheld her

royal character—the influence of her example could extend only to the inhabitants of Como or of Athens. To the wives and daughters of England she was extinct—removed from their sphere of action, as effectually as if she had been dead—and to their ears the details of her domestic life, the scandal tales of her neighbours and her servants, the scenes of immorality which are alleged to have happened, are now, for the first time, to be revealed by the inquiry your majesty has been advised to set on foot.

If then there is no paramount necessity, nor even a *prima facie* case of policy, for proceeding against the queen by bill, let us next inquire whether the ends of justice will be defeated if this bill does not pass? It is difficult to say they would. If the law of England has made no provision for trying a queen on a charge of immoral conduct abroad, the reason is probably to be found in the conclusion we have just made, that such conduct does not seriously affect the state. But, on the other hand, we are compelled to represent, that the ends of justice may be grossly defeated by the passing of the bill now pending in Parliament. For what, let us humbly ask, is the situation of the queen? Separated from her husband during the first year of her marriage, she has been forced out of that circle of domestic duties and domestic affections, which alone are of power to keep a wife holy and safe from evil. For the period to which the accusation extends she has been also removed from the control of public opinion—the best remaining check this world can afford upon female behaviour. Many women, unhappily, there are in England, who have abandoned husbands warmly attached to them, and a large family of children dependent upon them for maternal care; but not one has yet been exposed to such an ordeal, or threatened with such a disgrace, as the queen. Is it just (may we ask?) that an offence deserving of peculiar indulgence should be visited with extraordinary severity?

Much distrust, it must also be manifest, will attach to the witnesses. It is well known (without undue prejudice we may say it), that the standard of morality for female conduct is not so high in Italy as it is in England; and the consequence is, that a ready belief is given to any story, however improbable, which affects the honour of a woman. Again, the witnesses do not give evidence in their own country; and their character in their own neighbourhood is not at stake. If persons of some rank in England have accused the queen falsely, what may we not expect from the stray servants of an Italian town—from the *jetsam* and *flotsam* of a licentious people—from the eaves-droppers of the whole continent, solicited and brought together by an emissary of the British court, who is even now ransacking the Milanese for evidence against the queen?

There are other circumstances tending to pollute the stream of justice in this high matter. It is not in human nature (say the suspicious) that, in voting on a bill some of that political affection which the House of Lords may entertain should not enter into the decision. On a judicial proceeding men vote on their own judgment: on a law they often vote from confidence in the judgment of others. And in whom do the House of Peers generally place their confidence? In the men who have advised your majesty to bring forward this sorrowful business—in the same men who brought down the information as accusers—in the same men who examined it in a secret committee, styling themselves grand jurors—in the same men who are about to decide on the conduct of the queen, and their own characters, for a third time, in the character of judges. There are other circumstances:—the prejudging of the case, by leaving the queen out of the Liturgy—the casting her out from all royal honours, even before any charge was made—the refusal of a list of witnesses, and of a specification of the charges;—in short, there are circumstances without number,

which show an unfair bias in the minds of her powerful and almost resistless judges.

What has been the consequence? A feeling as universal as the air, that the queen is to be oppressed, and not to be tried—a feeling so generous, that there are none but must applaud its spirit. To those who provoked it belong the results. Those results must be, that if the queen is acquitted, no man can say how far her triumph may rise, or how low the monarchy may sink: if she is condemned, a general feeling of indignation will pervade the people, and your majesty will lose, in the first year of your reign, the best part of your inheritance—the hearts of your subjects.

We cannot forget that an example is about to be given for the degradation of a queen. We see in the bill, that to mark this more strongly, the degradation is made to precede the divorce; none are more convinced than we are of the right of Parliament to alter the succession of the crown: none respect more than we do the Act of Settlement, which took away the crown from the hereditary successors, and gave it to the House of Brunswick. But we are not for uncrowning a royal head without necessity: we see much to alarm us in the example—nothing to console us in the immediate benefit.

Why then—and this is the end we humbly aim at—why should Queen Caroline be prosecuted at all as long as she behaves with propriety in this country? From her future conduct your majesty and the nation will be enabled to judge whether the reports from Milan were well founded, or whether they were the offspring of curiosity and malice. If the former, the nation will be at once supplied with a reason for inquiry, and deprived of much of its sympathy; if, on the other hand, the queen's conduct bears the test, your majesty will have cause to rejoice that you have saved her from humiliation, and preserved her from a sentence which must destroy in her all shame, and extinguish for

ever the care of her reputation. For these reasons it would have been in our view more consistent with good morals and with humanity if your majesty's ministers, when they first heard the sinister reports from Italy, instead of offering the queen a large income to stay abroad, had offered her an increase of revenue to return home. Nor must it be forgotten that your majesty has already the power of inflicting a severe punishment. Your majesty has the prerogative (and it is one with which the House of Commons refused to interfere) of excluding the queen from your palace and your court. This must be a severe, it might be an unjust, sentence on any woman; but on the queen it bears with peculiar weight. The splendour of her rank—the attendant pomp of majesty—the pre-eminence of her station above all other females, are taken away and annulled at once by the simple pleasure of your majesty. All who look for court preferment—all who are ambitious of the king's regard—all who fly to the side of power—all who are bound by office—desert the queen, with a doubt or a question on her behaviour. Her only resource is to unite a few friends about her, and to live without ostentation, without homage, without authority. But in addition to this, if she forfeited her reputation by her conduct, all women who have a regard for their own characters would instantly leave her: she would receive no favour in this respect. Is your majesty not satisfied? With all the interested passions against her—with all the virtue of the ladies of Queen Charlotte's court on the watch to take alarm—could not your majesty safely leave the queen with the weight of suspicion about her, in the midst of the society of England? Can there be a more painful situation? Can there be a more difficult trial? If the habits of the queen be in reality as degrading as the bill represents them, what can she dread more than to live in the moral atmosphere of England?

We have endeavoured to make it apparent to your ma-

jesty that the act by which it is proposed to degrade the queen is not necessary to the state—that, on the contrary, it will be, to use the words of the House of Commons, “disappointing to the hopes of Parliament, derogatory to the honour of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.” We also have attempted to show that another course is open. In recommending your majesty to abstain from further proceedings, we give no opinion on the merits of the case. We do not ask your majesty to retract any opinion you have formed: we merely ask your majesty to decline putting the queen on the hard task of defending herself against foreign rumours, springing up in the course of six years, and nursed into importance by a commission sent from England for the purpose.

Your majesty, we know full well, is too generous and too magnanimous to put any inclination of your own in the balance against the real welfare of your people. That welfare requires repose. During the last year the conflict of passions brought our country to the verge of civil war. A new subject is the only thing wanting to renew those passions in a more dreadful form. May your majesty not furnish the occasion! Already the loyal bodies who address the queen are called “Radicals;” those who accuse her are styled “Persecutors and Calumniators.” By a single word your majesty may dispel the impending storm. We, therefore, humbly pray your majesty that you will be pleased to issue orders to prorogue the Parliament, and thus put an end to all proceedings at present pending against the queen

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

On the 2d of August, an address was presented to her majesty from Berwick-upon-Tweed by Lord Ossulston, to which the following answer was returned:

For this loyal and affectionate address, I feel deeply indebted to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed. The ravage which death has made amongst my nearest and most beloved relatives, since I left England, has furnished many arduous trials for my resignation and my fortitude. It is my duty to submit, without fretfulness or impatience, to these and to heavier afflictions, if I have still heavier to endure.

My many sorrows have been mingled with an infusion of joy, by the enthusiastic delight with which the people hailed my arrival from the continent. I had been so long absent from England, and so artfully reviled in my absence, that it was supposed I should never return. My return operated like a flash of lightning upon the public mind. Those whom the accumulated slanders of my enemies had caused to hesitate about my rectitude, were instantly struck with conviction of my integrity. But while my friends exulted with joy, my enemies turned pale with apprehension. The consciousness of their own guilt was aggravated by the irresistible feeling of my innocence. They exhibited a singular picture of malice rendered impotent, and of rage becoming desperate.

When my enemies found that they could not operate upon my disinterestedness by a bribe, they attempted to shake my courage by a threat. But I derive from the bounty of Heaven, a mind that is at once superior to the calculations of avarice, and to the impressions of fear.

If I am a subject, I am a subject in a state of immediate proximity to the sovereign; and certainly I ought not to be placed in a less favourable situation than that of the most humble individual. Every subject, whatever may be his condition or his rank, is entitled to a fair and open trial, by which his guilt or his innocence may be legally established. To me, such a trial is refused. My demand for it has hitherto been answered only by Green Bags, which perjury

has filled, or by Secret Inquisitions, over which malice presides. Every other subject has the benefit of an impartial jury; and he may object to a certain number of jurors, whom he may know, or believe to be hostile to himself, or partial to his adversary. Can I object to any of my numerous judges and jurors? What individual is there who could expect an impartial trial where his adversary could influence the majority of his judges, either by the fear of loss, or the hope of gain; either by good in possession, or in expectancy?—But are my judges alone without human infirmities? I leave the question to be answered by those, who know what man is; or who have calmly observed the late proceedings in the House of Lords.

The following description of the arrangements made for the Italian witnesses against her majesty, will be perused with peculiar interest, as it shews a system of caution in regard to witnesses, which has not its precedent in the annals of this country.

The houses in Cotton-garden, occupied by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Mr. Ley, and the other officers of the House of Lords, were the places appointed for the use of the Italian witnesses against the queen. The occupants were compelled to remove, and their quitting on such short notice produced no little bustle and confusion. Cotton-garden is situate at the rear of the western angle of the House of Lords, to which it is approached by a narrow passage from the eastern end of Abingdon-street. A situation more completely retired, and more convenient for ingress and egress to the interior of the House of Lords, can-

not be conceived. It was therefore most judiciously chosen by ministers for the seat of the Italian witnesses, and at the same time furnishes a complete answer to that part of the argument against the queen's request for a list of the witnesses to be produced against her majesty, founded upon the danger of exposing them, if known, to tampering and intimidation. Cotton-garden is also the site of the newly-constructed kitchens, sculleries, and other edifices necessary for furnishing the grand dinner in Westminster-hall on the ensuing coronation. These works were soon completed, and all further access to the scene was entirely cut off. The long flagged passage from the western end of the House of Lords, by which the Westminster scholars have the privilege of access to their boats on the river, was also blocked up by order of government.

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Mr. Ley, Mrs. Goods and some of Mr. Bellamy's servants, who occupied apartments under the long gallery, have entirely removed from them. The houses of Sir Thomas and Mr. Ley, were fitted up apparently for the reception of personages somewhat above the ordinary rank. They are to be exclusively occupied by the witnesses of a more respectable rank in life, who are brought over to support the allegations in the bill. The furniture in them is of that description which is used in a private gentleman's house. It was entirely new, and consists of Brussel's carpets, neat mahogany chairs, four-

post bedsteads, with fine cotton hangings, ornamented mirrors, several services of ware, among them the best plain courses of Wedgwood, the kitchens well stocked with culinary articles, and the cellars with wines of various descriptions. Including the conveniencies provided in the two houses we have mentioned, there was bedding fitted up for the use of upwards of one hundred persons, and this accommodation was provided in a more comfortable manner than it can generally be obtained by the more humble classes of society.

The temporary buildings in Cotton-yard, which are not set apart for the operation of the cooking apparatus, were filled with good plain feather-beds and mattresses, about seven or eight in each division or ward, with sheets, blankets, and the greater part with white coverlids. They are all laid upon bedsteads, but of various forms—four-post, tent, and press bedsteads, are all in requisition. On Thursday and Friday the 10th and 11th, the most material part of the accommodation—the provisions—were lodged in the different store-rooms, and, as if the intention was to keep the stock on hand a secret from any hungry fellows who might be induced from without to storm the fortress, none of it was supplied by the tradesmen usually employed in the neighbourhood. It came from strangers, who mostly resided out of Westminster, and was brought in suddenly and unexpectedly. There were several barrels of beef,

a quantity of pork and bacon, eggs in abundance flour, and a large quantity of groceries. One large dray came from the country laden with ale; and on Saturday the 12th the whole stock for the accommodation of the witnesses, who will have no reason to complain of our hospitality at least, whatever else they may lament, was completed and distributed in the different parts of Cotton-yard, according to the general arrangement. The eating too begun on Friday evening, eleven foreigners having been landed out of a boat at Parliament-stairs, and immediately conducted into the general apartments where the accommodation, *en masse*, is provided. They were the following day seen parading about the yard, dressed in foreign cut jackets and small leather travelling caps. They appeared to be young men, and some of them had a military air. Most of the windows which overlooked the yard are fastened down, and the apartments to which they belong kept locked. All external communication with Cotton-yard was closed on the 12th, and strong doors, iron bound, fixed up at the extremity of the avenue, opposite Henry the 7th's chapel which led to Mr. Hatsell's house. Ingress from Parliament-stairs was then effectually obviated, by a brick wall and a strong timber partition; fortunately for the arrangements this was holiday time with the Westminster boys, or else the juvenile pranks of resisting supposed encroachments, would doubtless be played off with the old West-

minster spirit; for this passage to the water has been so universally used by the boys of the school, as almost to constitute for them a legal right of way.

The only entrance now to Cotton-yard from the water, [there is none from the adjoining street, except a small passage to the house of Mr. Reeves, the magistrate, and another private gentleman's next to it] is by a new causeway, which projects from Mr. Hatsell's house down to low water mark in the Thames; a flight of steps unite the causeway with the shore, at which place there is a wooden barrier, in which a gate opens to the side wall of Mr. Hatsell's house. This gate, as well as that which bars the other extremity of the passage facing Henry the 7th's chapel, will be strongly watched and guarded: even the foreign witnesses are not permitted to be landed from the river side without a previous order from the office of the Home Department, and the attendance of a confidential person from the Alien-office to recognise the attendant from that office, who conducts the witnesses to their quarters in Cotton-yard. Two boats laden with these new visitors arrived at the place of their destination, on Saturday the 12th, and the witnesses seemed very cheerful and well pleased with the ample preparations for their accommodation and protection. The contrast which both the place and the fare presented to their cheerless reception some time ago in Dover, and at the Inn, in Bishopsgate,

appeared to afford them the most comfortable confidence. The whole of the witnesses, save two or three, whose attendance is contingent were mustered in Cotton-yard, on Monday the 14th.

Arrangements, before then, were made to exclude the possibility of a glimpse at that place—both the witnesses and their quarters will be, as it were, hermetically sealed from the public eye, and every crevice will be so stopped up as to prevent the slightest glance which could by possibility be caught by the most prying curiosity. The witnesses will, as they are wanted, be conducted to the House of Lords through a covered passage alongside Mr. Hatsell's house, and the painted chamber; these avenues will conduct them to the side passage of the House of Lords, and from thence it is thought they will be led into the house, not through the ordinary side door for strangers, but through the folding doors by which the members of the House of Commons carry up their bills. A number of cooks from Hampton-court, Windsor, and other court residences, arrived on Sunday, and the following day, to superintend the culinary offices.

Her majesty now constantly resided at Brandenburgh-house. Upon her first arrival at this mansion, her majesty was waited upon by a gentleman, who, in the most serious manner, entreated that she would not remain there for a single night, for that he had the strongest reasons

to believe an attempt would be made to carry her off, by water, to some place of secrecy. Her majesty treated this information with great indifference, and seemed to think that the zeal of her informant had induced him to stretch his imagination beyond the bounds of probability. Her scepticism, however, only increased the vehemence of her adviser, and she was induced to send for Mr. Alderman Wood. The worthy alderman, like her majesty, considered the scheme as very unlikely; but, at the same time, believing that it was not impossible that there were persons capable of offering to her majesty some insult, to which the exposed state of Brandenburg-house, next the water, might afford facility, he accepted the services of several persons who proffered themselves to act as a guard during her majesty's stay, and every night since a regular watch has been kept round the house. Her majesty is herself free from all apprehensions, and reposes with perfect confidence on the affections of her people.

The attempts which were made by her majesty to obtain a suitable town residence through the means of his majesty's ministers, having failed, and the period of her trial fast approaching, her majesty was induced to accept the kind offer of Lady Francis (the widow of Sir Philip Francis), to lend her the use of her mansion in St. James's-square, during the proceedings in parliament. This mansion is situate next door to

that of Lord Castlereagh, and was soon prepared for her majesty's reception. Her majesty removed thither on Tuesday the 15th. Objections have been made to the choice of this residence from its proximity to the dwelling of an obnoxious minister, and from the necessity which it imposes on her majesty of passing the palace of the king every day, on her way to and from the House of Peers. Those who raise these objections should recollect that the acceptance of Lady Francis's offer was, on the part of her majesty, a dernier resort, and that it was in the power of his majesty's ministers to have obviated its necessity. Her majesty pointed out several other places, all of which were refused, and no satisfactory reason, it is said, assigned.

On Monday 14th, an address was presented to her majesty from the city of Canterbury, to which the following very pathetic answer was given:—

My bosom glowed with emotions of gratitude, when I read the loyal and affectionate address from the freemen and inhabitants of the ancient and metropolitan city and county of the city of Canterbury. Their sentiments of cheering congratulation upon my return to England, and of soothing condolence upon the heavy domestic afflictions I have sustained, will be indelibly imprinted on my memory through the agency of my heart.

I no sooner stepped upon the pier of Dover, after escaping from the inhospitable treatment I had experienced on the opposite shore, that I felt that, if I were assailed by the slanders of a few, I was protected by the sympathies of the many. My heart thrills with delight, and that delight

is mingled with no small portions of gratitude when I recollect the devotedness to my interest which has been so universally manifested since my return.

I left England with tears of regret ; but I no sooner saw its white cliffs rising from the ocean, than I was overpowered with emotions of joy. There, said I, if I do not find a refuge from every care, I shall at least experience sweet solace and steady support, under every attack upon my honour and my peace. The warm affections of his majesty's subjects have already made me ample compensation for all the pitiful malignity of my adversaries.

When my accusers offered to load me with wealth, on condition of depriving me of honour, my habitual disinterestedness, and my conscious integrity, made me spurn the golden lure. My enemies have not yet taught me, that wealth is desirable when it is coupled with infamy.

The manner in which the House of Lords has rejected my several reasonable petitions, has made me feel pity rather than resentment. If the honourable members of that honourable house should ever cease to respect the rights of their lawful queen, they will find that they have been weakening their own. Their rights are inseparable from those of the monarchy, and the rights of the queen are a part of our monarchical constitution.

The intelligence of the death of her royal highness the Duchess of York was conveyed to her majesty on Monday, the 7th, and was received by her with unfeigned regret. Her majesty at all times spoke of the deceased duchess in terms of strong affection. During the subsequent week her majesty declined receiving any visits of ceremony ; and, although several addresses were in readiness to be presented to her, she requested

that they might be delayed till after the funeral of her deceased relation. The whole of her majesty's household were put in deep mourning.

Pursuant to a requisition directed to the sheriff of Middlesex, a meeting was held, on the 8th, at the Mermaid tavern, Hackney, to take into consideration the propriety of presenting an address to the queen. The meeting was fixed for twelve o'clock, but at that hour very few individuals had assembled. Before one o'clock, the great room was completely filled; and the sheriff not making his appearance, much disapprobation was shewn. At half-past one o'clock Mr. Sheriff Parkins made his appearance. He was accompanied by Mr. P. Moore, Dr. Parr, Mr. S. Whitbread, Mr. Alderman Waithman, and Mr. Alderman Wood.

In compliance with the request of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, Mr. Sheriff Parkins went to the queen's residence at Brandenburg-house, in order to ascertain when her majesty would receive the county address; when Lady Ann Hamilton being made acquainted with the nature of his visit, expressed herself doubtful whether her majesty would feel herself able to receive him, on account of the recent death of the Duchess of York.

The sheriff therefore sent in to her majesty the accompanying note, to which the queen returned a very gracious message by Lady Ann Hamilton, expressing her regret that she could not then see the sheriff, and that she would, at the earliest pos-

sible period, after the interment of the Duchess of York, appoint a day for receiving the address from the county of Middlesex.

To her Majesty Queen Caroline.

Sheriff Parkins has the honour to communicate, that he presided at a numerous and highly respectable meeting of the freeholders of her majesty's metropolitan and loyal county of Middlesex, held yesterday at the Mermaid tavern, Hackney, convened by the sheriff, on a requisition numerously signed, for the purpose of considering an Address to her Majesty, as also to take into consideration the proceedings pending in Parliament against the queen.

Sheriff Parkins, with heartfelt satisfaction, has now the honour, officially, to inform her majesty, that a series of resolutions were unanimously passed, expressive of loyal feeling, duty, and respect for her majesty's person and honour, and that an Address to her Majesty, founded on these resolutions, was read and carried without a dissenting voice, and voted to be presented by Sheriff Parkins, the two members for the county, accompanied by a deputation of freeholders.

The sheriff humbly approaches her majesty, in compliance with the request of the freeholders, to ascertain when it will be convenient to her majesty to receive the deputation.

August 9, 1820.

The address from Norwich, was presented to her majesty on the day preceding the decease of the Duchess of York, and her majesty's answer was as follows :

I gratefully acknowledge my obligations to his majesty's faithful subjects, the inhabitants of the city of Norwich,

for this affectionate address. The voice of sympathy is always soothing to the ear, but it is heard with double complacency when it is known to issue from the heart. I am convinced, that in this sympathetic tribute of regard for my insulted honour, and my violated rights, the inhabitants of Norwich have expressed only those sentiments which affection breathes from their generous hearts.

The accumulated indignities which I have experienced, have had an effect quite contrary to the expectation of my enemies; they have rendered me an object of public regard in a higher degree than I could otherwise have been. My reason approves, and my piety reveres that instinctive propensity which there is in the human heart to succour the oppressed. Of this propensity no page in history furnishes a brighter example, than that which the British people have exhibited in favour of their persecuted queen. In proportion as my enemies have endeavoured to effect my abasement, they have contributed to my exaltation. They have degraded nobody but themselves. Their malice has been my protection, and their obloquy has become my panegyric.

When my adversaries had recourse to a Bill of Pains and Penalties, they offered an involuntary testimony to my innocence; for, if I had been guilty, my guilt might have been established by a more legal and a less circuitous process. But knowing that my integrity was my security, as long as they remained within the confines of our constitutional sanctuary, they leaped with profane daring over that sacred boundary, and are now labouring to annihilate my honour as a woman, and my dignity as a queen, by a procedure which must in its consequences be perilous to the vital interests of individual and general liberty. I am now, therefore, struggling not more for my own good, than for that of the country. The question, at this moment, is not merely whether the queen shall have her rights, but whether the

rights of any individual in the kingdom shall be free from violation.

The maxims of English jurisprudence have always, hitherto, been favourable to the accused. Perhaps my accusers, who are also to be my judges, thought that they were acting in conformity to those maxims, when, after spreading the accusations against me over a period of six years, and a spaceal most equal to that of a whole continent, they refused any specification of the times when, and the places where, the charges were laid, after they had previously condescended not to grant any list of the witnesses by whom these charges were to be supported. A generous enemy never commences the combat by previously wresting from his adversary every instrument of defence. But is not the conduct of my enemies a proof that they think their own cause weak and mine strong? Why else do they labour with a sort of trembling cowardice to cripple my powers of resistance? Is not this tacitly to tell the world that my integrity is their dread, and my accusation their shame?

The following account of the consequences of praying for the queen, which took place about this time, has been transmitted from Galloway, and it affords a striking example of the tolerating spirit of our northern neighbours :

“ The Rev. Mr. Gillespie has for some years acted as chaplain to the Stewartry Yeomanry ; and on Sunday the 13th, he preached before the corps, which was then assembled at Kirkcudbright, what has been described to us one of the most loyal and patriotic discourses ever delivered from a pulpit. In his prayer, however, after many petitions in behalf of his majesty, he

added the words, ‘ Bless also the Queen ;’ and for this high crime and misdemeanour he was, the same evening, placed under military arrest by his commanding-officer ! This proceeding has excited a strong feeling of surprise—perhaps of indignation—particularly among the members of the presbytery of Kirkcudbright, who are no strangers to the soundness of Mr. Gillespie’s political principles, and who are themselves in the general practice of praying for her majesty. How the matter will end, we know not ; but we should suppose the clergy of Scotland will be apt to view the arrest of Mr. Gillespie as an insult offered to the whole order, especially after the independence of the Kirk of Scotland on this very point—a thing, indeed, that never could be doubted—was so distinctly recognised in the last General Assembly. The chaplain of a regiment is, no doubt, bound to conform himself to the wishes of his colonel, in as far as regards time and place ; but farther than this no officer has any right to interfere ; and, it would certainly be very strange if the wise heads and bold hearts who, in imitation of John Knox, have never ceased to assert the independence of the Presbyterian form of worship, would concede to a military officer a power which cannot be claimed even by the king upon the throne. We also understand that a yeomanry corps are only under martial law when called into active service, and that consequently no chaplain is liable to be

arrested when the corps in which he happens to officiate, is merely assembled for the purpose of training. If this view of the subject be correct, it follows that Mr. Gillespie was illegally arrested. Besides, it is quite obvious that the zeal of the colonel alluded to must, in the end, defeat its own purpose. A reverend gentleman in the same neighbourhood, noted for his talents and loyalty, when asked whether he ever prayed for the queen? replied, 'No; but I shall certainly do so the moment I am interdicted;' and several other clergymen, we understand, who had previously abstained from praying for her majesty, have since commenced the practice, with the express view of repelling what they conceive to be a practical encroachment on the liberty of the church."

The following letter from her majesty, which is dated August 7th, was sent by the queen's messenger early in the morning of the 8th, to the cottage at Windsor, accompanied with a note to Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, written by the queen, desiring Sir Benjamin to deliver it immediately to the king. Sir Benjamin Bloomfield being then absent, the letter was received by Sir William Keppel, who forwarded it immediately to Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, at Carlton-house, who returned it in the afternoon of the 8th to the queen, informing her majesty that he had received the king's commands and general instructions, that any communications that might be made should

pass through the channel of his majesty's government. The queen immediately despatched a messenger with the letter to Lord Liverpool, desiring his lordship to lay it before his majesty. Lord Liverpool was at Combe-wood. He returned an answer that he would lose no time in laying it before the king. On the 11th, no reply having been received, the queen wrote again to Lord Liverpool, requesting information whether any further communication would be made on the subject of the latter to his majesty. Lord Liverpool wrote the same day from Combe-wood that he had not received the king's commands to make any communication to her majesty in consequence of her letter

THE QUEEN'S LETTER TO THE KING.

SIR,

After the unparalleled and unprovoked prosecution which during a series of years, has been carried on against me under the name and authority of your majesty—and which persecution, instead of being mollified by time, time has rendered only more and more malignant and unrelenting—it is not without a great sacrifice of private feeling that I now, even in the way of remonstrance, bring myself to address this letter to your majesty. But, bearing in mind that royalty rests on the basis of public good; that to this paramount consideration all others ought to submit; and aware of the consequences that may result from the present unconstitutional, illegal, and hitherto unheard-of proceedings;—with a mind thus impressed, I cannot refrain from laying my grievous wrongs once more before your majesty,

in the hope that the justice which your majesty may, by evil-minded counsellors, be still disposed to refuse to the claims of a dutiful, faithful, and injured wife, you may be induced to yield to considerations connected with the honour and dignity of your crown, the stability of your throne, the tranquillity of your dominions, the happiness and safety of your just and loyal people, whose generous hearts revolt at oppression and cruelty, and especially when perpetrated by a perversion and a mockery of the laws.

A sense of what is due to my character and sex forbids me to refer minutely to the real causes of our domestic separation, or to the numerous unmerited insults offered me previously to that period; but, leaving to your majesty to reconcile with the marriage vow the act of driving, by such means, a wife from beneath your roof, with an infant in her arms, your majesty will permit me to remind you, that that act was entirely your own; that the separation, so far from being sought for by me, was a sentence pronounced upon me, without any cause assigned, other than that of your own inclinations, which, as your majesty was pleased to allege, were not under your control.

Not to have felt, with regard to myself, chagrin at this decision of your majesty, would have argued great insensibility to the obligations of decorum; not to have dropped a tear in the face of that beloved child, whose future sorrows were then but too easy to foresee, would have marked me as unworthy of the name of mother; but, not to have submitted to it without repining, would have indicated a consciousness of demerit, or a want of those feelings which belong to affronted and insulted female honour.

The "tranquil and comfortable society" tendered to me by your majesty formed, in my mind, but a poor compensation for the grief occasioned by considering the wound given to public morals in the fatal example produced by the indulgence of your majesty's inclinations; more especially

when I contemplated the disappointment of the nation, who had so munificently provided for our union, who had fondly cherished such pleasing hopes of happiness arising from that union, and who had hailed it with such affectionate and rapturous joy.

But, alas ! even tranquillity and comfort were too much for me to enjoy. From the very threshold of your majesty's mansion the mother of your child was pursued by spies, conspirators, and traitors, employed, encouraged and rewarded to lay snares for the feet, and to plot against the reputation and life, of her whom your majesty had so recently and so solemnly vowed to honour, to love, and to cherish.

In withdrawing from the embraces of my parents, in giving my hand to the son of George the Third and the heir-apparent to the British throne, nothing less than a voice from Heaven would have made me fear injustice or wrong of any kind. What, then, was my astonishment at finding that treasons against me had been carried on and matured, perjuries against me had been methodized and embodied, a secret tribunal had been held, a trial of my actions had taken place and a decision had been made upon those actions, without my having been informed of the nature of the charge, or of the names of the witnesses ? And what words can express the feelings excited by the fact, that this proceeding was founded on a request made, and on evidence furnished, by order of the father of my child, and my natural as well as legal guardian and protector ?

Notwithstanding, however, the unprecedented conduct of that tribunal—conduct which has since undergone, even in parliament, severe and unanswered animadversions, and which has been also censured in minutes of the privy council—notwithstanding the secrecy of the proceedings of this tribunal—notwithstanding the strong temptation to the giving of false evidence against one before it—notwithstand

ing that there was no opportunity afforded me of rebutting that evidence—notwithstanding all these circumstances, so decidedly favourable to my enemies—even this secret tribunal acquitted me of all crime, and thereby pronounced my principal accusers to have been guilty of the grossest perjury. But it was now (after the trial was over) discovered that the nature of the tribunal was such as to render false swearing before it *not legally criminal*! And thus, at the suggestion and request of your majesty, had been created to take cognizance of and try my conduct, a tribunal competent to administer oaths, competent to examine witnesses on oath, competent to try, competent to acquit or condemn, and competent, moreover, to screen those who had sworn falsely against me from suffering the pains and penalties which the law awards to wilful and corrupt perjury. Great as my indignation naturally must have been at this shameful evasion of law and justice, that indignation was lost in pity for him who could lower his princely plumes to the dust by giving his countenance and favour to the most conspicuous of those abandoned and notorious perjurers.

Still there was one whose upright mind nothing could warp, in whose breast injustice never found a place, whose hand was always ready to raise the unfortunate, and to rescue the oppressed. While that good and gracious father and sovereign remained in the exercise of his royal functions, his unoffending daughter-in-law had nothing to fear. As long as the protecting hand of your late ever-beloved and ever lamented father was held over me, I was safe.—But the melancholy event which deprived the nation of the active exertions of its virtuous king, bereft me of friend and protector, and of all hope of future tranquillity and safety. To calumniate your innocent wife was now the shortest road to royal favour; and to betray her was to lay the sure foundation of boundless riches and titles of honour. Before claims like these, talent, virtue, long services, your own personal

friendships, your royal engagements, promises, and pledges, written as well as verbal, melted into air. Your cabinet was founded on this basis. You took to your councils men, of whose persons, as well as whose principles, you had invariably expressed the strongest dislike. The interest of the nation, and even your own feelings, in all other respects, were sacrificed to the gratification of your desire to aggravate my sufferings, and ensure my humiliation. You took to your councils and your bosom men whom you hated, whose abandonment of, and whose readiness to sacrifice me were their only merits, and whose power has been exercised in a manner, and has been attended with consequences, worthy of its origin. From this unprincipled and unnatural union have sprung the manifold evils which this nation has now to endure, and which present a mass of misery and of degradation, accompanied with acts of tyranny and cruelty, rather than have seen which inflicted on his industrious, faithful, and brave people, your royal father would have perished at the head of that people.

When to calumniate, revile, and betray me, became the sure path to honour and riches, it would have been strange indeed if calumniators, revilers, and traitors, had not abounded. Your court became much less a scene of polished manners and refined intercourse than of low intrigue and scurrility. Spies, bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators swarmed in those places which had before been the resort of sobriety, virtue, and honour. To enumerate all the various privations and mortifications which I had to endure, all the insults that were wantonly heaped upon me, from the day of your elevation to the regency to that of my departure for the continent, would be to describe every species of personal offence that can be offered to, and every pain short of bodily violence that can be inflicted on, any human being. Bereft of parent, brother, and father-in-law, and my husband for my deadliest foe; seeing those

who have promised me support bought by rewards to be amongst my enemies ; restrained from accusing my foes in the face of the world, out of regard for the character of the father of my child, and from a desire to prevent her happiness from being disturbed ; shunned from motives of selfishness by those who were my natural associates ; living in obscurity, while I ought to have been the centre of all that was splendid ; thus humbled, I had one consolation left—the love of my dear and only child. To permit me to enjoy this was too great an indulgence. To see my daughter ; to fold her in my arms ; to mingle my tears with hers, to receive her cheering caresses, and to hear from her lips assurances of never-ceasing love ;—thus to be comforted, consoled, upheld, and blessed, was too much to be allowed me. Even on the slave mart the cries of “ Oh ! my mother, my mother ! Oh ! my child, my child ! ” have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice. But your advisers, more inhuman than the slave-dealers, remorselessly tore the mother from the child.

Thus bereft of the society of my child, or reduced to the necessity of imbittering her life by struggles to preserve that society, I resolved on a temporary absence, in the hope that time might restore me to her in happier days. Those days, alas ! were never to come. To mothers—and those mothers who have been suddenly bereft of the best and most affectionate and only daughters—it belongs to estimate my sufferings and my wrongs. Such mothers will judge of my affliction upon hearing of the death of my child, and upon my calling to recollection the last look, the last words, and all the affecting circumstances of our separation. Such mothers will see the depth of my sorrows. Every being with a heart of humanity in its bosom will drop a tear in sympathy with me. And will not the world, then, learn with indignation, that this event, calculated to soften the hardest heart, was the signal for new conspiracies, and

indefatigable efforts for the destruction of this afflicted mother? Your majesty had torn my child from me; you had deprived me of the power of being at hand to succour her; you had taken from me the possibility of hearing of her last prayers for her mother; you saw me bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted; and this was the moment you chose for redoubling your persecutions.

Let the world pass its judgement on the constituting of a commission, in a foreign country, consisting of inquisitors, spies, and informers, to discover, collect, and arrange matters of accusation against your wife, without any complaint having been communicated to her: let the world judge of the employment of ambassadors in such a business, and of the enlisting of foreign courts in the enterprise: but on the measures which have been adopted to give final effect to these preliminary proceedings it is for me to speak; it is for me to remonstrate with your majesty; it is for me to protest; it is for me to apprise you of my determination.

I have always demanded a *fair trial*. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to a sentence by the Parliament, passed in the shape of a *law*. Against this I protest, and upon the following grounds:—

The injustice of refusing me a clear and distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the witnesses, of refusing me the names of the places where the alleged acts have been committed; these are sufficiently flagrant and revolting; but it is against the *constitution of the Court itself* that I particularly object, and that I most solemnly protest.

Whatever may be the precedents as to Bills of Pains and Penalties, none of them, except those relating to the queen of Henry the Eighth, can apply here; for here your majesty is the *plaintiff*. Here it is intended by the Bill to do you what you deem good, and to do me great harm. You are, therefore, a party, and the only complaining party.

You have made your complaint to the House of Lords. You have conveyed to this house written documents sealed up. A secret committee of the house have examined these documents. They have reported that there are grounds of proceeding; and then the house, merely upon that report, have brought forward a bill containing the most outrageous slanders on me, and sentencing me to divorce and degradation.

The injustice of putting forth this bill to the world for six weeks before it is even proposed to afford me an opportunity of contradicting its allegations is too manifest not to have shocked the nation; and, indeed, the proceedings even thus far are such as to convince every one that no justice is intended me. But if none of these proceedings, if none of these clear indications of a determination to do me wrong had taken place, I should see, in the constitution of the House of Lords itself, a certainty that I could expect no justice at its hands.

Your majesty's ministers have *advised* this prosecution; they are responsible for the advice they give; they are liable to *punishment* if they fail to make good their charges; and not only are they part of my *judges*, but it is they who have *brought in the Bill*; and it is too notorious that they have *always a majority* in the house; so that without any other, here is ample proof that the house will decide in favour of the bill, and, of course, against me.

But further, there are reasons for your ministers having a majority in this case, and which reasons do not apply to common cases. Your majesty is *the plaintiff*: to you it belongs to appoint and to elevate peers. Many of the present peers have been raised to that dignity by yourself, and almost the whole can be, at your will and pleasure, further elevated. The far greater part of the peers hold, by themselves and their families, offices, pensions, and other emoluments, solely at the will and pleasure of your majesty, and

these, of course, your majesty can take away whenever you please. There are more than *four fifths* of the peers in this situation, and there are many of them who might thus be deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

If, contrary to all expectation, there should be found, in some peers, likely to amount to a majority, a disposition to reject the bill, some of these peers may be ordered away to their ships, regiments, governments, and other duties; and, which is an equally alarming power, new peers may be created for the purpose, and give their vote in the decision. That your majesty's ministers would advise these measures, if found necessary to render their prosecution successful, there can be very little doubt; seeing that they have hitherto stooped at nothing, however unjust or odious.

To regard such a body as a *Court of Justice* would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress an expression of my opinion on the subject, would be tacitly to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition upon the nation and the world.

In the House of Commons I can discover no better grounds of security. The power of your majesty's ministers is the same in both houses; and your majesty is well acquainted with the fact, that a majority of this house is composed of persons placed in it by the peers and by your majesty's treasury.

It really gives me pain to state these things to your majesty; and, if it gives your majesty pain, I beg that it may be observed, and remembered, that the statement has been forced from me. I must either protest against this mode of trial, or, by tacitly consenting to it, suffer my honour to be sacrificed. No innocence can secure the accused if the judges and jurors be chosen by the accuser; and if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this description, I should be instrumental in my own dishonour.

On these grounds I protest against this species of trial.

I demand a trial in a court where the jurors are taken impartially from amongst the people, and where the proceedings are open and fair. Such a trial I court, and to no other will I willingly submit. If your majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I shall, even in the Houses of Parliament, face my accusers; but I shall regard any decision they may make against me as not in the smallest degree reflecting on my honour; and I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a *Court of Justice*.

I have now frankly laid before your majesty a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of my views and intentions. You have cast upon me every slur to which the female character is liable. Instead of loving, honouring and cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow, you have pursued me with hatred and scorn, and with all the means of destruction. You wrested from me my child, and with her my only comfort and consolation. You sent me sorrowing through the world, and even in my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting persecution. Having left me nothing but my innocence, you would now, by a mockery of justice, deprive me even of the reputation of possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the poinard, are means more manly than perjured witnesses and partial tribunals; and they are less cruel, inasmuch as life is less valuable than honour. If my life would have satisfied your majesty, you should have had it on the sole condition of giving me a place in the same tomb with my child; but, since you would send me dishonoured to the grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me.

CAROLINE R.

Brandenburg-house, August 7, 1820.

This composition is not more impressive at the present hour than it will be memorable to future

times. It is clear and strong—it is indignant and pathetic: there is no evil passion which it does not shame—there is no generous, or manly, or moral feeling, which it does not rouse with animated and unadorned eloquence. The illustrious writer speaks home to every heart when she describes her unexampled wrongs; while the reasoning which she offers against the intended aggravation of them deserves to be deeply pondered by every thinking mind in the community. The language throughout is of that nature which nothing but a sense of injured honour and ruined happiness could suggest; it is the appeal of a lofty but wounded spirit mingled with the alternate reproaches and supplications of an almost despairing victim. We have no right to use expressions of equal warmth with those in which the queen has delivered her sentiments. The injuries she complains of may, on the part of her majesty, justify invectives towards her supposed persecutors which mere sympathy with her sufferings could not extenuate in us. We shall make, however, but a brief remark or two on as many passages of the Royal Memoir.

Her majesty lays it down as a fixed principle, that “the basis of royal power is the public good,” and thence we infer, that, if the country would be a sufferer instead of gainer by a sovereign giving scope to his revengeful passions—even though he were to secure, instead of rendering hopeless, the redress of the grievances of which

he complains—his bounden duty would be to sacrifice his spleen, and to save the peace and welfare of his subjects. We are far from saying that the king is actuated by any vindictive passion; but we do assert, that his ministers are either wicked or unwise in having misdirected his majesty's zeal for the public prosperity, and in having persuaded him (contrary, we doubt not, to his own wish) that it would be better to divorce and destroy his wife, than to hear her complaints, and to relieve her sufferings.

Some judgement may be formed of the decided tendency and rapid progress of opinion against the proceedings of ministers, by the conduct of those amongst their own friends in Parliament who have any pretensions to honesty or independence. We insert the following letter from Sir Gerard Noel to Lord Liverpool, a gentleman of known character for loyalty and honour, and one whose general politics will not be depreciated by the king's ministers, because he has always supported their measures:

SIR GERARD NOEL TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

Exton Park, August 11.

MY LORD,

The present moment seems to me to claim the best exertions of every one to preserve the empire in prosperous tranquillity; and I therefore have no scruple, as an old member of the house, who have in general given my support to ministers, though always without fixed devotedness to party, in addressing your lordship previously to the meeting of Parliament.

" I lament extremely to be obliged to complain that his majesty's ministers, instead of adhering to an undeviating plan of healing measures, in order to justify the cautionary regulations of the two last years, and unequivocally to mark the wish of administration more generally to attain the confidence of the people, have ventured to adopt with pertinacity the monstrous measure of the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the queen, which unhappily forms the most important undertaking of the new reign, and by which they are exasperating the public discontents, and almost calling forth and sanctioning, by their conduct in this sad affair, that impatience against which those cautionary regulations have been directed, and hereby creating such wide-spreading dissensions as will put in jeopardy every class of society, and may eventually tend to weaken our national respectability in the courts of Europe.

My Lord, it is to me a great proof of the inattention of the cabinet, that the return of the Queen to England was not foreseen, as the obvious consequence of its proceedings with regard to her majesty ; for, when the storm began to threaten against her, immediately on the demise of the late king, with strong symptoms of its having been gathering in his life-time ; and when, upon her last arrival at Rome, where she was personally known, and had been formerly acknowledged as Princess of Wales, the court there treated her majesty as a disowned individual ; being thus a discarded heretic in a Roman Catholic country, must it not have been apparent to her majesty that her best course was rapidly to escape, and to throw herself on the protection of the British nation ? I assert, therefore, without the fear of successful contradiction, that it is the conduct of his majesty's advisers which has forced the queen into England. The attempt to persuade her majesty to remain on the Continent, which happened at St. Omer's, could only excite her greater alarm ; and her good sense and knowledge of the world,

and of the principles of the British Constitution—considering besides the harassings by which her steps had been visited in Italy, and upon the line of her return home—clearly and immediately pointed out to her majesty that to accept its conditions was wholly inconsistent with her dignity and her repose; that, without the protection of the English church, which was withheld, and without British sanction, which the communication could not assure to her majesty, there was neither safety nor permanency to life or fortune ascertained to her; and most fitly therefore she steadily and promptly proceeded on her journey. Can it then be charged against her majesty, that she has intruded offensively on the shores of England?

If indeed, my lord, instead of instituting that Milan Commission (for the cost of which I know not upon what principle the Chancellor of the Exchequer can ask from the Commons to provide), the cabinet, by a generous and prudent anticipation, had intimated to her majesty, that, after the demise of the late king, the protection of the church of England, and an increased allowance as Queen of England, should be afforded to her, to soften the misfortunes of the royal separation, which had so solemnly and irrevocably been agreed upon long ago, her majesty might possibly have been induced to remain abroad; and, in consideration of the relief which her marriage with the present king, when Prince of Wales, gave to the nation from the apprehension, strangely but strongly excited at that time by various circumstances, that the influence of popery might revive in these realms; feeling also grateful acknowledgement to both their majesties for their meeting the wishes of the people, then so impressively declared; Parliament no doubt would have agreed to pass an act enabling his majesty to make such provision, which would, in that case, have been mutually desirable; but, my lord; adverting to the actual posture of affairs, I pro-

nounce that the queen had no alternative in the overture at St. Omer's for staying abroad, nor is the Bill of Pains and Penalties a fair alternative or just consequence of the failure of the negotiations with her majesty in London: and I cannot contemplate that bill, so illegitimately commenced, without disgust, or without astonishment as to its policy in a ministerial point of view; regard being had to the enormous growing expenses of the trial, and to the disadvantage which must result from the unwarrantably terming it a cause between the country and the queen, whereas the repugnance of the country against the trial is so notorious, as probably to render the question of defraying the charges of so unjustifiable and pernicious an extravagance, if your lordship, and those who act with you, urge this portentous bill relentlessly forward in spite of every warning voice, most embarrassing to his majesty's administration, at a time perhaps even more distressingly afflicting than the present, and in a predicament entirely originating with themselves.

With sentiments, then, of parting friendship, and somewhat of painful anxiety for the future—and to obey the call to public duty, so well made by Lord John Russell upon Mr. Wilberforce, and all those members who have hitherto supported the present administration, I venture to address this letter of remonstrance to your lordship, as prime minister; for not all the bias of attachment and of private gratitude which I owe to his majesty, and which it inflicts upon my heart a most severe pang to resist, can otherwise operate than to make me regret with deeper sorrow that his majesty is advised to assent to the carrying on this bill—a measure which demands from me a conduct in contrast with those feelings, and in opposition to that bias; because, according to the best of my judgment, I should swerve from the paramount duty of my station did I not declare frankly that I will endeavour to interrupt and thwart the enactment of

this Bill in every stage : and did I not, with the full impression on my mind of the unpropitious consequences of it generally, and especially to the present administration, if passed into a law, most earnestly recommend that your lordship should be disposed to consider it kinder and wiser to withdraw the Bill, rather than to press the second reading of it when the peers shall re-assemble.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient and
very humble servant,

GERARD NOEL.

On Tuesday the 15th, four addresses were presented to her majesty at Brandenburg-house. These were from the County of Middlesex ; from the mechanics of the metropolis ; from the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch ; and from the inhabitants of Hammersmith.

About half-past ten o'clock the city part of the deputation, to present the county of Middlesex address, began to move from the house of Mr. Sheriff Parkins, in Bridge-street, Blackfriars. It consisted of about forty private carriages, one half of which, open landaus and four, each containing six gentlemen, led the way. The remainder consisted of close coaches and chariots, with two or three curricles. Mr. Sheriff Parkins, accompanied by his deputy, Mr. Pullen, led the way in the Sheriff's state coach. He was immediately followed by Mr. Samuel Whitbread, M.P. for Middlesex, who was accompanied by a friend, in his coach. Mr. Peter Moore followed, and Mr. Alderman Waithman : they were severally ac-

accompanied in their carriages by electors of Middlesex. The other carriages were filled by persons of respectability.

The procession moved at a gentle pace along Fleet-street, the Strand, Pall-mall, St. James's-street, Piccadilly, to Kensington-gate, where it was joined by the Westminster part of the cavalcade. A great number of persons were on the road, who loudly cheered the carriages as they passed along. The windows of the houses were crowded with ladies who joined in the expression of satisfaction by the waving of handkerchiefs, &c. The procession, after passing Kensington-gate, proceeded at a smarter pace onwards, and arrived at Brandenburg-house before one o'clock.

The garden gates were thrown open, and admission was indiscriminately allowed to the grounds in front of the house. The carriages drove up to the side entrance, where they set down their company. The queen, attended by Lady Anne Hamilton and Mr. Alderman Wood, received the deputation in the principal suite of apartments. Her majesty was dressed in mourning—she looked cheerful, and in excellent health. She conversed in the most affable and condescending manner with many of the gentlemen who approached her, particularly Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Peter Moore, Mr. Alderman Waithman, and the Sheriff. The Middlesex address was presented to the queen by Mr. Sheriff Parkins, and her majesty immediately returned the following answer:

In my long absence from England I had never forgotten that justice and humanity had no warmer advocates, nor more steady friends than the freeholders of Middlesex. Their present animated and affectionate address has impressed that conviction more strongly upon my mind ; and my heart rejoices at receiving such a tribute of regard from men so enlightened, philanthropists so generous, and patriots so pure. The improved spirit of the age, which is seen in the intellectual advancement of man through all the gradations of the social scheme, is particularly visible in this metropolitan county. Here the dissemination of knowledge is found to have the most salutary effects. Here moral worth is most resplendent. Here beneficence most abounds. Here those sentiments and affections are most operative that exclude intolerance from the mind, and give the most comprehensive charity to the heart. Here liberty finds its most impenetrable shield ; and tyranny has to contend with its most determined foe. My frank and unreserved disposition may, at times, have laid my conduct open to the misrepresentations of my adversaries. Conscious that my motives are pure, and my heart upright, I have never sought any refuge even from the infuriated eye of malignity in the coverts of duplicity, or in the obscurities of fraud. I am what I seem, and I seem what I am. And though calumny, aided by perjury, is now making its last desperate attack upon my character, yet I feel no fear, except it be the fear that my character should not be sufficiently investigated. I challenge every inquiry ; I deprecate not the most vigilant scrutiny.

My life has been a life of trial. But what trial is there which I have yet undergone, that has not elevated my character, and humbled that of my enemies ? During a period of twenty-five years I have been exposed to the most persecuting inquisition. In private life virtue is thought to bloom like the primrose in the shade ; but I have been

placed in circumstances where temptation operates with double force, and where vice assumes the most fascinating lures; and yet what credible proof has been produced that I have once erred from the path of innocence?

The freeholders of Middlesex could not make use of expressions more gratifying to my pride, or more sacred to my soul, than by telling me that I occupy in the affections of the people that place which the Princess Charlotte so eminently possessed. It inspires me with a sort of hallowed ecstasy, when I perceive how much and how tenderly this generous nation still cherishes her venerated memory.

The voice of the people, which has been so generally expressed in favour of my integrity, has cheered me in the most trying circumstances; and if I were to reach the fatal moment of my expiration on the morrow, it would still murmur pleasure in my ears.

When the freeholders of Middlesex congratulate me upon having such fair associates as Truth and Justice in my train, I must implore the Author of all Good, that as they have been my solace in time past, they may remain my inseparable companions through life, and not forsake me even in the tomb.

The instant the answer was given by her majesty, it was communicated to the crowd without doors by the gentlemen at the windows, by a loud clapping of hands. The communication was hailed from without by loud and reiterated cheers, intermixed with entreaties that her majesty would gratify the crowd by her appearance at the windows of the house. The queen, with great condescension, obeyed this call, and appeared at all the windows in succession, accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton, Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Whit-

bread, and Mr. Peter Moore. It is needless to state, that her majesty was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. The reception of the Middlesex deputation occupied nearly half an hour. The deputation with the Shoreditch Address was then introduced, and received with equal affability by her majesty, who permitted the principal gentlemen to have the honour of kissing her hand.

Her majesty gave the following answer to this address:—

The householders and inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, are requested to accept my unfeigned thanks for this affectionate address. The long series of persecutions by which I have been assailed, though they have been successfully defeated, have been as constantly renewed. The present atrocious attack upon my moral character, and upon my royal dignity, is designed by my enemies to produce that catastrophe which is to terminate this drama of iniquity. But the good people of England are not willing to see a new reign open with a tragedy.

The inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, well remark, that the charges against me are of the most vague and indefinite kind. They have no palpable form, no distinct individual character. Such vague generalities of accusation are the common refuge of slander, when it asperses without evidence, and condemns without proof. In the present instance, the charge against me is so indeterminate, that it is more like an inquisition into the conduct of a whole life than into the truth of any particular allegation.

In their Bill of Pains and Penalties my adversaries first condemn me without proof—and then, with a sort of novel refinement in legislative science, proceed to inquire whether

there is any proof to justify the condemnation. They first prejudice my case, and then attempt to colour the injustice by a sort of judicial parade, which this age will never approve, and which posterity will abhor. Justice has been denominated even-handed; but what should we think of that emblematical figure of judicial purity in one of whose hands the accuser had put not only a green bag of perjury, but a yellow bag of gold.

The deputation of the Artisans of the Metropolis followed the Middlesex deputation on foot.

They met a little before twelve o'clock, near St. Clement's church, and the crowd, which was very considerable, was there marshalled by a few persons who bore white wands, by way of distinction; they formed the crowd into companies of a convenient breath to move through the streets without creating any inconvenient interruption.

The address itself, signed by 29,786 persons, was borne between two of the addressers, genteelly dressed in mourning, with rosettes of silk riband in the breasts of their coats, and white wands in their hands; they were followed by about 100 others, walking two and two, attired in the same manner; about 100 more followed in coloured clothes, some with their aprons on, others with silk coloured neckerchiefs, but the whole exceedingly clean. This party was composed of persons deputed from the several trades of the metropolis, two from each. They proceeded through Wych-street, Drury-lane, St Giles's and Oxford-street. They halted in three

or four places, and gave three cheers. They entered the upper end of Piccadilly, and passed out through Hyde Park-corner. When they came in front of the barracks at Knightsbridge they again halted, gave three cheers, and commenced a loud clapping of hands. Some straggling soldiers were at the gates of the barracks, and several at the windows; they remained passive spectators of the enthusiastic crowd. By the time the crowd arrived at Knightsbridge it joined the rear of the cavalcade, which had previously advanced with the Middlesex Address, and before this time, several carriages, containing the gentlemen with the Shoreditch Address, who were attended by their parochial officers and maces, had joined the throng, so that the road from Hyde Park-corner to Hammersmith then presented one continued line of persons on their way to address the queen.

The anxiety to see the several processions pass was manifested at a very early hour. The morning stages which start from Piccadilly were more than usually crowded, and long before the time appointed for any of the processions to move, not a vehicle of any description was to be found unoccupied for the conveyance of passengers towards Brandenburg-house.

About eleven o'clock, the pedestrians began to arrive at Hammersmith, and their numbers gradually thickened until the footway on the sides of the road, more particularly that from Ken-

sington to Hammersmith, became completely crowded. The whole scene was at this time extremely interesting. On the side of the road, was a stream of people of various ranks, the lowest of whom were cleanly dressed; and the mixture of females in the crowd, sparkling as they did under a clear bright day, relieved in some measure the sombre effect of the moving mass. The centre of the road was filled with horsemen and vehicles of all descriptions, crowded for the most part with respectable-looking men, going at various paces, and passing each other at pleasure, the wheels of the carriages and gigs flashing back the sun so as to dazzle the eyes of the spectators. At the junction of the by-roads were to be seen knots of persons who had come from the adjacent country to enjoy the sight. While some dropped in from these avenues to swell the passing throng, other groups were formed at the public-house doors, and the inhabitants of the other houses were either standing at their doors or looking out of the windows to satisfy their curiosity. In the mean while business of all sorts seemed suspended. It was evidently, however, not a day of rejoicing to the people. Every one seemed occupied with the important subject which now agitates the country; some seriously talking of it, others wrapt up in their meditations, and all apparently apprehensive of its consequences to the public welfare; justly inferring perhaps what must be the effect on the nation at

large, from the impression which the proceedings against the queen had made on their own minds.

As the day advanced and the people accumulated, the regularity which has been mentioned in the movements of the people was no longer visible. Besides the footways, the centre of the road was strewn with passengers, and as soon as the deputations had united and begun to proceed together, the whole breadth of the way was for a great length nothing but a moving aggregate of carriages, and every other description of vehicle. Horsemen and pedestrians all commingled—each endeavouring to get forward in a cloud of dust, with the most speed, and the least annoyance to himself or others. A promiscuous throng of persons of both sexes closed the line. All the windows of the houses at each side of the road were filled by persons of respectability: among them were clusters of elegantly-dressed ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs as the procession passed; and the groups of persons who were stationary in different parts of the road loudly cheered the most popular characters as they recognised them in the line of march, and repeatedly shouted “Long live Queen Caroline!”

In this way the processions reached that part of Hammersmith where the road, leading by the church to Brandenburg-house, turns off. The Union Flag had previously been hoisted on the steeple, and flags with various inscriptions waved

from some of the houses in the town, as well as from several along the road. A merry peal had also commenced before this time, and, with the firing of guns, was continued until the business of the day closed.

Many of the gentlemen who composed the preceding deputations were with difficulty able to regain their carriages, and drive off from the house in the direction kept open for them. While they were in the act of driving off, the large pedestrian body of artisans and mechanics entered the grounds, and were loudly cheered; a select part of their number had the honour of being admitted to the queen to present the general address. Her majesty received them with her usual grace and dignity, and they retired highly gratified with their reception.

The following was her majesty's answer to the address of the artisans:—

I am much gratified and unfeignedly obliged by this warm and affectionate address from the industrious classes in and about the great metropolis of these realms. It affords me unspeakable satisfaction to find that this mighty city contains myriads of such persons, among whom there is a large stock of virtue and intelligence, who condole with my sorrows, and who kindle with indignation at my wrongs. The industrious classes have shewn that they still retain that independence of mind which is inflexible to external circumstances, and which was once the proud boast and the characteristic property of every Englishman. Though the gangrene of corruption has engendered a debasing venality and a fawning obsequiousness in detached portions of the community, yet Britain

still retains a large portion of that heart of oak which for so many ages has made its name glorious and its annals bright.

The industrious classes of the nation constitute the vital energy of the state. In the great fabric of society they are the strength at the bottom which support the ornaments at the top.

The productive powers of the country are its real powers. For out of what other source is consumption supplied?—What else is it that multiplies gratifications of all kinds?—To what else is affluence indebted for its splendour, or beauty for its decorations? Where rank is measured by usefulness, no reflecting mind will say that the industrious classes occupy the lowest step in the ascent of honourable ambition or of estimable fame. There have been times, and perhaps those times may still be, when the hard-earned bread of the long-toiling peasant or mechanic is insufficient for his numerous family—when the penury of the day has been succeeded by the inquietude of the night, and when night and day, and day and night, have been only a sad succession of pining wretchedness and of hopeless woe. That order of things, which, in a large portion of the community, necessitates the acquisition of subsistence by the sweat of the brow, is the institution of Providence for the benefit of man; but who does not see that it is not owing to the wisdom of the Deity, but to the hard-heartedness of the oppressor, when the sweat of the brow during the day is followed by the tear of affliction at its close, when the labour of the hand only adds to the aching of the heart, and what ought to be a source of joy is an aggravation of calamity? But if these things have been, I may perhaps be permitted to hope, that they will ere long be only as the troubled scenery of a dream; and that happier times are approaching, when commerce will crowd our rivers, trade be busy in our streets, and industry smiling in our fields.

The grounds were at this time entirely filled by an immense multitude: the pressure in front of the house was so great, that many of the laurel hedges, which protect the small fruit garden in that direction, yielded to the weight of persons who were jammed against them; and some idle boys immediately took advantage of their contact with the fruit to refresh themselves with such apples as they could reach. It is but right to state that even this trifling trespass was immediately resisted by the crowd, many of whom instantly assisted the constables to eject the truants who were unable to resist the temptation which encompassed them. After the artisans withdrew from her majesty's presence, the queen made her appearance again at the windows, and signified by her gesture the gratification she felt at the demonstrations of affection which were reiterated by the immense multitude then before her. Mr. Peter Moore, who attended her majesty, then addressed the crowd, and informed them that the queen had yet to receive the address of the inhabitants of Hammersmith, who were then approaching in their carriages. Her majesty, he said, was afraid that some persons might suffer inconvenience or injury from the horses, and therefore requested that they would be kind enough to depart, and make room for the other gentlemen who were coming up with an address. This intimation was immediately obeyed, and the gentlemen from Hammersmith passed into the

house with their address. They met with the same gratifying reception as the other gentlemen who preceded them.

Her majesty delivered the following answer to the Hammersmith address:

I am sensibly impressed and deeply obliged by this affectionate address from the inhabitants of Hammersmith, amongst whom I have my present temporary residence. I have always rejoiced in the felicitations of neighbours and in the charities of neighbourhood. The day on which the remains of the Princess Charlotte were committed to the silent tomb was a day of deep sorrow to the nation. But if the nation wept, it was not merely because youth and beauty had withered, and wit and elegance had vanished in the grave. These were common occurrences: but it is not a common occurrence to see every virtue in a successor to the throne; and in the mirror of those virtues to behold the nation emerging from wretchedness, servitude, and disgrace, to freedom, to glory, and to happiness. All Europe has its eyes fixed on the present procedure in the House of Lords. I shall have to appear at the bar of that house; but that house itself will have to appear at the bar of public opinion throughout the world. I shall have to defend myself against their accusations; but they will have to defend themselves against the reproaches of individual conscience, as well as the impartial condemnation of the age which now is, and of that which is to come. To have been one of the peers who, after accusing and condemning, affected to sit in judgment on Queen Caroline, will be a sure passport to the splendid notoriety of everlasting shame.

Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. P. Moore, and Mr. Whitbread, remained with her majesty a considerable time after the other gentlemen of the

several deputations had withdrawn, and it was near four o'clock, before the crowd which occupied the grounds in front of Brandenburg-house had retired. The spectacle in the narrow road leading from Hammersmith to her majesty's residence, was as interesting and diversified as that on the main road: vehicles of every description were in waiting for company they had set down; barouches, landaus, gigs, tax-carts of every shape and colour; indeed, so great was the demand for conveyances, that females, respectably dressed, were glad to avail themselves of those heavy machines which are used in removing furniture in the metropolis. Considerable laughter was excited by the inscriptions on these carts, and the difference between their present and their ordinary application: for instance, groups of females and children were seated upon vehicles, on which were inscribed, "Goods carefully removed, at a low price;"—"Lumber stowed and carried any distance;" and even the accommodation which such conveyances afforded was the subject of much competition, the oppressive heat of the day had so considerably fatigued a number of the pedestrians. The large throng which had set out in the morning from the metropolis, continued at intervals to occupy the road on its return, until a late hour in the evening. No serious accident occurred during the early part of the day, though we are extremely sorry to say a fatal one happened in the evening, the particu

lars of which will be found subjoined. The light-fingered gentry, of course, did not lose so excellent an opportunity of practising their favourite occupation: many of these fellows fell into the hands of the police, and others of them when caught in the act of picking pockets, received chastisement on the spot from the crowd.

Many of the artisans and mechanics wore laurel-leaves and sprigs in their hats, and others of them white favours in their breasts.

We are sorry to add, that a melancholy accident took place immediately opposite Brandenburg-house. About five o'clock in the afternoon, some men had placed several pieces of small cannon on the side of the river, and were firing them off in order to add to the general gaiety of the day, when a young man, named William Ford, about twenty years of age, and a native of Hammersmith, was in the act of replacing one of the colours which had fallen, one of the guns was unfortunately fired off, and the wadding penetrating his forehead, part of his face and brains were blown away. He was immediately conveyed to the Red Lion public-house, on the opposite side of the river. Several medical gentlemen attended, who extracted the wadding, but the unfortunate youth lingered only about two hours, when death put a period to his misery.

On Tuesday, the 15th, the House of Lords met in pursuance of adjournment, when the Duke of Leinster said, that he rose for the purpose of

taking this, the earliest opportunity to state to their lordships, that he felt the strongest objections to the Bill of Pains and Penalties now in progress through their lordships' house, and that he meant to oppose it in every stage, and on every occasion. He considered all Bills of Pains and Penalties as the engines of violence, injustice, and oppression; but that which was at present before their lordships appeared to him, in every point of view, peculiarly objectionable.

Wednesday, the 16th, being the day appointed for the removal of her majesty from Brandenburg-house to her new residence, the house of Lady Francis in St. James's-square, a great crowd assembled there at an early hour, attracted by curiosity to witness the arrival of her majesty, as also the arrival of the several deputations charged to present addresses; viz. those of the Married Ladies, Greenwich, and the Borough of Aylesbury. The concourse continued to increase until the space between the houses and the railing of the central inclosure was almost filled up, extending itself, in irregular divisions, to the contiguous corners of the square, and augmenting its numbers in greater proportions as the expected hour of her arrival approached. The appearance of this multitude was in general respectable, and their conduct that of silent and respectful attention. The windows of Lord Castlereagh's house were closely shut up, from the ground floor to the attic, and it was understood, that all the valuable property

had been removed. At a quarter past twelve o'clock, the approach of the queen was announced by the rushing of a vast multitude of persons from Piccadilly and Pall-mall, and other western avenues, through the latter street. Her majesty's carriage came into the square amid the acclamations of the immense multitude assembled. Her majesty appeared pale, but smiled, and seemed in most excellent health. Alderman Wood had previously arrived, and handed her majesty from her carriage. At one o'clock, the deputation appointed to present the address of the Married Ladies entered the square. They occupied thirty carriages, and were all elegantly dressed; they were received by the crowd with the most deafening shout of applause, and as each carriage drew up to the door to set down, the salutation was repeated with undiminished effect. The scene, viewed from the eastern angle of the square, was of the most animated character. The whole deputation amounted to about 100; having alighted, they were shewn to the queen's presence. Her majesty was attended by Mr. Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton.

The address was read by Mrs. Thelwall; and her majesty returned the following answer:—

In this honest and affectionate address from my female neighbours, who are wives and mothers of families, in and near the metropolis, I gratefully acknowledge the sympathy which they express for my many sorrows, and the indignation which they feel for my unnumbered wrongs.

The approbation of my own sex must be ever dear to my heart; and it must be more particularly gratifying, when it is the approbation of mothers of families in and near the metropolis.

When my honour is attacked, every loyal Englishwoman must feel it as an imputation upon her own. The virtues of sovereigns are not circumscribed in their influence, or insulated in their operations. They put in motion a wide circle of the imitative propensity in the subordinate conditions of life. Thus the virtues of the great become the property of the people; and the people are interested in preserving them from slanderous contamination.

The present procedure against me is like a wilful attempt, on the part of blind frenzy or improvident malice, to destroy the moral character of the monarchy. To lessen this moral character in public estimation, is not merely to degrade the queen, but to shatter into atoms that reverential respect which gives strength to the sceptre, and dignity to the sovereign.

I shall never sacrifice that honour, which is the glory of a woman, and the brightest jewel of a queen, for any earthly consideration. All the possessions in the world would be purchased too dear, if they were obtained at the price of self-condemnation. I can never be debased while I observe the great maxim of respecting myself.

In this era of ceaseless change and of violent agitation, when whole nations seem tossed, like individuals on the ocean of storms, no circumstances, however menacing, shall shake the constancy of my attachment to the English nation, or estrange my affections from the general good of the community. The future is wisely covered with an opaque cloud; but, whatever may be my future destiny, I will cherish in all vicissitudes, and preserve in all fortunes, that resignation to the Divine Will, which, in proportion as it becomes an habitual sentiment of the mind, improves all its virtues, and elevates the general character.



THE
QUEEN'S
REPLY TO THE
King's Letter.



THE

OF THE

TO THE

King's Letters

L E T T E R

FROM THE

Queen

IN REPLY TO THE ONE FROM

T H E K I N G .

“ Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.”

ENTERED AS THE ACT DIRECTS.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSTON, 98, CHEAPSIDE,

AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.



1821.

LETTER

FROM THE



IS BEING TO THE ONE FROM

THE K. V. G.

Nothing extensive, not set down, and in reality,

ENTERED AS THE ACT, DIRECTS.

PRINTED BY T. HAMBLIN, GARLICK HILL.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, 25, CROWN STREET.

T. Hamblin, Printer, Garlick Hill.

1821

Brandenburgh House, New Year's Day.

To all my loving Subjects, of whatever denomination, the Queen sends her most affectionate greeting:—

THE Liberty of the Press is the palladium of British independence; if ever that should be destroyed, a reign of terror will commence, and anarchy stand in the place of Peace—*confusion* overturn *regular order*. The LAWS would be only a name, and both public and private property become the prey of needy villains.

From such a catastrophe I trust we are far distant; if not totally beyond its reach. The Press has been severely attacked by the instruments of power, and the advocates of military despotism; but it has bravely repulsed all its assailants, and, perhaps, never stood upon a firmer foundation than it does at present. I am indebted to its exertions,

combined with the warm loyalty of my people, for the restoration of my just rights and dignity, nay, for my very existence : and what in my estimation is more valuable, my *honour* and *character*, which, in spite of deep laid schemes, “suborned traducers,” and all the well-directed tyranny of foreign LAW and perjured witnesses, have been pronounced unblameable,

The Liberty of the Press is too often abused for party pursuits, and, in the hands of a faction, has been the means of disseminating much evil; with others, it has promoted much good. The *rational* Liberty of the Press has all along been exercised in my favour; the licentious liberty of the same has been used against me with a virulence never paralleled, but, thank God, without success. The shield of innocence has parried off every dart: the quiver is nearly emptied, and the bow so feebly strung, that it cannot propel another shaft with force

sufficient to make the slightest impression upon its intended victim.

As the KING has chosen to address his People in the form of a Pamphlet, I am justified in doing so. Situated as I am, I have no other way of making my sentiments known to my faithful People, than through the medium of the Press. The KING has his Parliament to which he can appeal, and, in adopting any other method of communicating with his Subjects, I humbly conceive he not only derogates from his dignity, but acts contrary to the Statute Law of the realm.

I wish I could for ever blot from my memory the day of my very unfortunate marriage, sacrifice I should call it, as from that hour I have never known peace or happiness. It could not be supposed that *love* existed betwixt two persons who had never seen each other until a few days before their

marriage ; but I had heard so much of the amiable qualities of the *Prince of Wales*—his gentlemanly carriage—humane disposition, and tenderness to the female sex, that I doubted not but I should pass my life in as much comfort as any one could expect, where the union was political, and the inclinations were never consulted.

However, I have been deeply disappointed, and to this hour no one knows what I have endured. With the causes of our separation the world are not acquainted, nor can they be by me. Time will remove the veil, and posterity will honour me for my silence.

When I presumed to complain to my family of the treatment I was receiving, my letters, I have every reason to suppose, were stopped and broken open, and the natural appeal of a child to its parent was con-

strued into a want of *respect* for the *husband* who had abandoned her.

The silence of my family on this unhappy occasion may readily be accounted for. When the most powerful monarchs of Europe trembled on their thrones, my father had just reason to dread the loss of his **DUKEDOM**. Situated in the very centre of the war, he had need of a friend, and in **GREAT BRITAIN** he found one, whom it was his interest, and the bounden duty he owed to his subjects not to offend: he thus sacrificed his private affections at the shrine of public interest, and I became the victim of his magnanimity. The grave has long closed over him, and I feel happy he did not live to witness the sufferings his daughter has since endured.

I have been given to understand that the **PRINCE OF WALES** had for his object in marrying, the *payment of his debts*; if such were actually the case, I was from the first

only considered as a piece of parchment, or a stamped receipt, to satisfy his creditors: can any one doubt then, but that *the first wrong was done to me?*

Of this the late good old King was well aware, and his kind conduct towards me always evinced that he considered me an injured woman.

As no *crime* had been even proved against me, I would *have been justified in demanding a restitution of my conjugal rights.* This I knew to be impracticable, and surely if I am a woman of that “lofty and daring spirit” I am said to be, I would not demean myself by sueing in vain to a man who had married me from policy, and deserted me from caprice, when his object was attained. Besides, I could have no wish to renew a connection with one who did not esteem my person, and *whose inclinations he declared were not in his power.* Immediately after this se-

paration in 1796, when I was left a “lone woman” in a land of strangers, without one *true adviser*, I had to form a humble establishment of my own, and amongst my domestics, spies, in spite of every precaution, insinuated themselves; it was to them of no importance what my conduct was. They had only to calumniate me, and to do so with some feasibility; it was necessary they should be near my person.

I shall say little of the Investigation in 1806, carried back, like the *last*, for several years: it is only to name the *Douglasses*, to shew that I was innocent, falsely and foully calumniated. If an error in the conduct of the Princess of Wales be a *crime against the nation*, is it not equally so in the *Prince*? I have been acquitted of all errors, while others have even *acknowledged them*, and yet are passed over with impunity.

It was never my wish to give to the domestic differences between myself and the

King a political aspect. My enemies only have done so, but it has not answered their hopes or expectations: it has given me a popularity I never courted, and which I would rather see bestowed upon my husband, since I cannot share it with him.

The apartments assigned to me at Kensington Palace were not habitable, and the offer to retain them for my use was a mockery instead of a compliment. When I quitted England, it was with heartfelt reluctance, but I felt it due to the happiness of my daughter, and did not forget that of the King in forming my resolution. My reception at foreign courts was precluded by means the most sinister. The arrogance of *Cardinal Gonsalvi*, and the contempt of the Austrian Court, both originated in London. I do not say they emanated from the King. I give him full credit for a most noble and princely disposition; and, if he were permitted to fol-

low the dictates of his own good heart, all the “heart burnings” that have passed might have been avoided. To his Majesty’s advisers it is that I am indebted for all the persecution I have had to endure, and I look forward to experience much more of their enmity. I am told of *rumours* as to my conduct abroad having been in circulation for *years* before they were seriously enquired into. But by whom were these *rumours* circulated?—by agents employed by my persecutors in England; and I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, had not the money and influence of my enemies been actively employed, no Italian witnesses would ever have come forward to perjure themselves, and slander me.

In the *King’s Letter* he endeavours to justify the act of erasing my name from the Liturgy. No sophistry can even palliate such a wanton liberty taken with the Scripture,

and the mention of it had been better omitted in this letter of his Majesty altogether. I consider the deed as the act of Ministers, and believe it was against the conscience of the *King*, who, if he be anxious to see me justified in the eyes of mankind, would also wish me to stand pure in the eyes of God, who I firmly believe is the only *Mediator* that can do me any service.

The political attempt under the mask of religion at my degradation, as far as it affects my rights as *Queen of England*, is all that concerns me. I feel that I am prayed for in the hearts of my subjects, and I fervently hope his Majesty also has the benefit of their orisons.

With the "*line of policy*" the *King* has pursued, and means to pursue, I have no opinion to offer. The policy that directed my persecution has been the most unfortunate that any set of men or ministers ever adopted. My acquittal has been their con-

demnation in the opinion of all the unprejudiced part of the nation.

I have never been the “Tool of a *Party*.” I repel the charge with indignation. The party that now supports me is the *whole* of the *people of England*, my *devoted subjects*. If *Radical Reformers* choose to address me, I cannot refuse to receive such a testimony of their affection, and I have no reason to suppose them worse or better than other men. It is not becoming in me to despise the homage of any part of my subjects; and I may as well be called the *head* of the *Whigs* or *Tories*, because they have sympathised with my miseries, and rejoiced in the triumph of my innocence, as the head of the *Radicals*, who have done the same.

When the letter of the *King* alludes to the conspiracies for the destruction of his *Ministers*, I know not what it can have to do with myself, but see plainly it is meant

to throw a slur of some kind upon my conduct, as if I had taken advantage of a troubled hour, to advance my just claims. I had no need of adventitious aid to regain my rights. I had no more to do with creating the internal troubles of Great Britain than the babe unborn. The Cato-street conspiracy had no more connection with my case, than I had a hand in setting fire to *Rome* during the reign of *NERO*.

The men employed as spies have been at the bottom of all these plots, that have answered the purpose for which they were got up, and retained Ministers in their places in defiance of popular opinion, which views every action of their's with disgust and reprobation, I fear too justly merited.

At the time of my return there were no signs of disaffection in the country. The general stagnation of trade felt all over the world gave rise to murmuring, particularly

in the northern districts ; but in this there was not any thing treasonable, and my appearance at this season operated more as a balm to heal the discontented, than as a stimulus to rouse them to more desperate measures.

After a separation and a persecution of twenty-four years' continuance, I had no wish of returning to the Palace of the King. We had "parted no more to engage." I only came to demand my just rights, and, in so doing, I trust I have done no wrong. Had I lingered abroad after my husband was raised to the throne of these realms—had I accepted of the offer at Saint Omers, of £50,000 per annum, the future historians would have to brand my name with merited obloquy, as one of the most weak and depraved characters that existed since the days of a Julia or a Messalina.

But I have a monitor within which will

not permit me to be guilty of a crime—"Honour, sole judge and umpire of itself," which will carry me to the tomb with an unsullied conscience. All the insults I have endured since I first set foot in this once happy country—all the calumnies that have been heaped upon my head, I am firmly convinced in my mind originated with his Majesty's advisers alone. They only are the disaffected—they only are the feverish spirits that keep the country in a ferment, from one extremity to the other—they only are hated for their bad deeds, and I *most solemnly believe that the KING, individually, is dearly beloved by all his Subjects.*

From the infatuation of such a set of impotent advisers, I have to regret much humiliation and wanton cruel persecution, *unmanly* as directed against a woman, *dishonest* as tending to deprive me of my honour, titles, and rank in the state, and *treasonable* as adopted against their legal

Sovereign. Aided by the *Press* and the *People* I have triumphed over the most deep laid scheme that ever was laid to ruin any person of my rank. It seems that they still intend to renew the cowardly attack, but my bosom will continue invulnerable to the assaults of vice, as long as I have a grateful recollection of the gratitude I owe to my loyal and generous people, and a detestation of what is corrupt and base.

Much has been said to very little purpose in the letter *from his Majesty*, to prove that a Queen of England possesses no *political rank*. I have not demanded any, and on this subject I am not disposed to comment, for I never was ambitious of enjoying a tittle more than the Constitution allows to the Queen Consort as her undoubted rights. That the Queen has important "prerogatives" is admitted, and if "prerogative" does not imply a certain *power* of some very considerable extent, it

is in fact a word “high sounding and without meaning.”

It is said *that the Queen's presence in the country cannot revive trade, languishing in some of its branches*; this is an inconsiderate assumption. If the increase of employment given to the manufacturers of women's articles of dress be looked into since my arrival here in last June, it will be found that the encouragement given by my presence and example to every thing of British production, has set looms to work that were previously rotting in idleness, and given bread to many who were starving.

Every time the KING changes the fashion or colour of his clothes it is an advantage to trade; the same observation is true of the QUEEN: but of this I have said sufficient, and probably too much. “To give a *tone to the morals* of the country,” is said to be “the duty of a Queen Consort:” it is no less so

the duty of a KING. I have done my duty successfully on this point. That the King has not done so in a manner as effectual as he might is not to be attributed to his own will; he is surrounded by men of *low* birth and desperate fortunes, who shut out from his presence all who would have the candour and magnanimity to give him disinterested counsel. He is the only man in the land to whose ear truth never reaches. I know his errors; they have been industriously spread abroad and magnified; but never by me. I also know his virtues, which deserve to be better and more generally known.

The KING is hasty, and, by an impatience of temper, acts too often from the hurried impulse of the moment, without due consideration; but his disposition is soon cooled, and he becomes as obedient to advice, as he was before impatient of contradiction. He is not proud, but affable and condescending to all—he is a generous master, and a warm

friend—he loves all his Subjects, and would hesitate at no sacrifices to make them happy. I am not guilty of flattery in this statement, but merely do an act of justice to one, whose confidential advisers have long been acting in the most unjust manner towards their master, myself, and the whole British empire. The sentiments, the spirit, and the universal wishes of a suffering nation are kept from him. The people are not only suffering under privations inflicted by no mortal hand, and which time alone can alleviate ; but they also *suffer* in being misrepresented to their Sovereign—he knows not the genuine love they bear to him, and he has only to do as I have done, appear amongst them fearlessly, rely upon their loyalty for protection, and not upon foreign bayonets, and he will remove with abhorrence the veil of delusion Ministers have so long and so carefully drawn before his eyes.

The King has long been accustomed to

consider his present Ministers as his *friends*, and he does not wish to discard them at once to popular indignation. Such a man, directed by a wise and liberal administration, might make his subjects happy, and the nation great; but he is pent up by a factious cabal, who consider only how they may keep their offices, regardless of their *Sovereign's* peace, comfort, or reputation. They are enemies to myself, to the King, and the People.

I have no doubt the King would be just if he were permitted to be so; but, were he twice as good and as great as he is, I would not live with him again as a wife for any earthly consideration whatsoever.

I only returned to Britain *to claim my just rights*, and scorn the imputation of any other views. If I really possess no *political rights*, I do not regret it: at my age, tranquillity is the most desirable object. But

have I not the *rights of a wife* ! and every married woman in the nation looks up to my conduct, to know whether she shall be considered as a *mother*, protected by the laws of *God* and *Man*, or one who can be tried and put asunder from her husband by any future body of men, who, at the will of a Minister, may choose to act as *judges*, *jurors*, and *prosecutors*.

I must once more refer to the £50,000 per annum, said to have been offered to me by the KING to remain abroad, and adopt some other title than that of *Queen of England*. I never was sufficiently foolish to suppose that such an infamous proposal came direct from his MAJESTY. I am told he very reluctantly complied, when solicited to permit the offer to be made: in *Lord Hutchinson*, Ministers found a convenient tool for so degrading an office, and when the conduct of his brother, my *Lord Donoughmore*, on my trial (as it is miscalled)

is considered, it will then be seen from what unworthy motives the noble General acted.

The KING, I do not doubt, would rather that I had remained abroad; but he never took any unwarrantable steps to *compel me to do so*; he has a soul above using dishonourable means to accomplish his wishes. I wish I could say the same of those men, who, by overstepping the *law of the land and of nature*, have plunged themselves into eternal disgrace, and for a time thrown into the shade all the *princely qualities* of one (who if his present advisers were removed) would be by all acknowledged as a good and a *gracious Sovereign*.

I have not one word to say on the attacks made upon my legal advisers in the letter to which I am briefly reverting; they never emanated from the KING. He would scorn to reflect upon those nearly approximating to him as equals, much more

those of whom he is supposed to look upon as his humble subjects. The able manner in which my defenders carried my cause, is a proof they are able to defend themselves when there is a necessity for it.

I have always made it my study to pay respect to the KING's own *character*, but I never will sully it, by mingling it up with his confidential advisers,—the misleaders of a deeply injured Prince, who have been a millstone round his neck, and nearly bent him down to the *earth*.

A case is stated, which has no reference either to truth or probability. That is, putting language into the mouths of *unborn historians*. There is something so ludicrous in this, I know not whether it merits laughter or contempt the most,—what the world may say when the grave has received us into her bosom, and the lapse of time permits

the historian to descant upon our conduct with fearless impartiality : when he will neither fear our power or hope for our protection, who can presume to foresee whether we shall be painted as monsters of deformity and vice, or of virtue and truth in their fairest forms ?

Has any one, who stands fairly with the world in his *life-time*, necessity to draw a bill upon posterity to do justice to his posthumous fame ? I shall only remark upon a few parts of this extraordinary *epitaph or eulogium upon a man before he is dead*. That the Queen “returned in the teeth of a proposition from administration” is decidedly true. I was aware that no kind or generous motives actuated these *foes of mine*, in making me an insulting proposition, which had I accepted, I should have been unworthy to live.

Are the administration *all-powerful*, and

must their will be a law? if so, it would be a law founded on injustice. Good God! can these *creatures of imbecility* suppose, that, when the Constitution called upon me to take possession of my rights, that I could be deterred from doing so by the *temptations* of filthy lucre, or the *menaces* of a junta, who are as despicable in *action*, as they are bold in threatening? who are bravos in private, and cowards in the field!

The step that I took is called a bold one, but *innocence* could have taken no other, which would not have pronounced her *Guilty*.

The popular opinion has long decided upon my rectitude, and I doubt not but the KING rejoices in my escape from conspirators, but, situated as he is, he can only rejoice in silence. I bear him the duty of a wife, but have no wish ever to see him more.

I have no desire to stand in the way of what may constitute his future happiness, and am willing to make any sacrifice (except those of my just rights and reputation) for his comfort and peace of mind. I take such a lively interest in his glory, that I daily pray for his sake, that the cabal by which he is surrounded may, in compliance with the wishes of the country, “be dismissed from his presence and counsels for ever.”

When the “Bill of Pains and Penalties” was disposed of, the letter now before me from the KING, says, “Lord Liverpool, as an individual Peer, who, in that capacity brought in the Bill, (and not as a Member of Administration,) immediately moved that it be read that day *six months*.” This was my hour of triumph over a despicable faction, who for the vilest of purposes had pursued me through the world with unexampled ferocity, and at last fell into the pit

they had dug for me. Now, not any “individual Peer,” unless he had been one of the faction, would either have dared to accuse or acquit the Queen Consort of the monstrous charges exhibited against her by the *Green Bag Committee*.

It has been said, and I believe with truth, from the knowledge I have of the KING, that it was by his peremptory orders Lord Liverpool appeared in the humiliating situation of pronouncing the woman *innocent* he had so laboriously (during *forty-five* days) calumniated, and condemned as *guilty*.

My case was clear; I had no occasion to receive this proof of his MAJESTY’S good intentions. It came too late; when my heart was lacerated, and could not enjoy it; when I was solitary, and had no child to whom I could impart it. However, it is an honourable trait in the KING’S character, and shews what he would be if rid of his Ministers.

The whole of the *farrago* of what “future historians may probably say, might serve for a place in the fables of Æsop or Pilpay, but is totally unfit for so grave a subject as that the letter professes to discuss. The worst of the Cæsars was eulogized in his day as a God, and posterity condemned him as a monster, unfit for the society of Devils.

The KING of England has no occasion to monopolize the judgment of future ages; his course has been brilliant, and his fleets and armies have materially assisted in emancipating the world from a state of slavery. His conduct towards his Queen ought never to be produced in judgment against him; he has done as most of *England's Kings* have done before, followed the advice of men as inferior to himself in point of political sagacity, as they are in all the generous feelings of the heart, and manners of an accomplished gentleman.

That the KING has taken an active part in my persecution no one shall ever persuade me, and the libel upon me (in the character of a *prophetical historian*) is so very ungenerous, and so unlike any thing that a gentleman could have written or sanctioned with his approbation; perhaps none but a Government libeller could have put together so vile a composition, and then have the audacity to call it the KING's.

I will say one or two words on *caricatures*. The KING disregards what concerns himself so much, that he only laughs at all those ebullitions of the freedom of the Press. I know he does with the greatest good humour. If I were not of the same opinion, if I did not consider such things as harmless (for John Bull will exercise his wit even at the expence of the Sovereign he loves,) I have more reason to complain than any one, for I have not only been put up to ridicule in every print-shop window, but I have been

exhibited in the slavish prints, as one whom *it was necessary to get rid of, no matter whether as a criminal or a martyr*. All this I can bear, for I know I do not deserve it. All *France* has been ransacked to hold my person up to contempt, but such efforts only create a laugh, and, in the present case, it is the Ministers that feel sore, for they feel “the picture is a true one of themselves,” and that they merit the censure it conveys: they have not magnanimity to bear with popular *disapprobation*, although they are daily provoking it; they have not the *virtue to reform*, although they see, that, with *reformation*, they may have some chance of holding their situations.

There is one hint in this “Letter from the KING,” which I cannot misunderstand: it runs thus:—

“*To expunge from the Journals of the Lords all the accusatory proceedings connected with the Queen of England.*”

I am not accustomed to deal in hints or inuendos, nor to throw out parables that may be applied in different ways. My enemies attribute it to me as a “grievous fault” that I am too plain-spoken: it is a fault they will have to reproach me with till my dying hour. The court of my father was a martial one, where the sternest honour and integrity prevailed; *ceremony* was less attended to than *truth*. It was there I learned that invaluable maxim, which has been my guide through a long and wearisome life—“never to disguise my sentiments.”

I was not long enough habituated to the court of London to imbibe the vicious practice of disguising my sentiments; and whilst I mingled in its scenes, I had the example of my husband to prevent me from falling into so gross a dereliction from virtue and confidence. With all his failings, he was no hypocrite; he never disguised his feelings; his looks and his words corresponded

with the opinion he had of the person he addressed ; and when he no longer wished to live with me, he did not attempt to deceive myself, or the public, by an affectation of regret or reluctance on the subject, but in a manly way declared his resolution, for which part of his conduct he at least had my approbation and thanks. *Hypocrisy* has no place in the bosom of the KING ; but she finds liberal room in the hearts of his advisers.

From this I am certain that the incipient article to which I allude is the production of some time-serving courtier, some pander who has mistaken the nature of his master, and is equally ignorant of my disposition. The hook is clumsily baited, and no one of common understanding would bite at it. It is well known that I *protested* against the proceedings in the *House of Lords* ; I, from the first, considered them as unjust towards myself, “and derogatory to the Crown ;”

but, since my acquittal, I have never had it in contemplation to petition for an erasure of any part of the proceedings against me from the Journals of that House. There have been indeed “Minutes of Evidence” entered upon those Journals, which children will blush to think their fathers sat patiently to hear.

I will consign this goodly paragraph, and all the nonsense that succeeds it, to “*the Tomb of the Capulets*,” after a few necessary remarks at parting. If I am that “bold and intrepid character,” that holds in a feminine form a masculine soul ; if I am possessed of that strong understanding which mine enemies say enables me to parry off the blows of truth, and make vice appear as virtue ; if I am all this, why do they write such a weak and silly paragraph to seduce me to *petition the Lords* to do an act which would render them, now and hereafter, the most essential service, and throw a censure

upon my own head tantamount to a direct admission of guilt. The truth is, the movers of my persecution are so much *mov'd* in their own *persons* and places, that their right hands do not know what the left doeth.— They can no longer deceive myself or the nation with the idea that the KING directs them in their actions. In proportion as the KING becomes better known, so will his advisers be more detested : for my own part, deeply as I have suffered by their machinations, I pity them ; I bear them no enmity ; and, in the true spirit of Christianity, place my hand on my heart and say,

“ Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do ! ”

It will be more honourable to me as a *Queen*, and an innocent one, that the proceedings against my honour and life should remain upon the *public Journals* of the *House of Lords*, than that they should be erased. The future historian

will resort to them with satisfaction, and the facts he will elicit from thence will illuminate his pages, and place me in the situation of those Sovereigns who have been unjustly prosecuted and honourably acquitted. It will also hand down the names and conduct of my persecutors, to the scorn of ages yet unborn ; and it will also serve to do tardy justice to the character of a *British Monarch*, whom a vile cabal holds in trammels, and prevents all the generous and noble sentiments he bears towards his people from being known, and properly appreciated.

When so many *false* statements are abroad as to the *King's public and private opinions*, I feel it a pleasing duty to state the real facts ; and shew him as he really is, notwithstanding I could, if I pleased, produce much subject matter of complaint respecting my own concerns, I scorn to do so. I will never be a *party* against a man who, however

estranged from me, possesses so many amiable qualifications, that he does not deserve half the censure that has been passed upon him. I consider the *ministers*, collectively and individually, as my enemies; and pray “God may reward them according to their works.” Considering the various weaknesses attached to human nature, (and of which I have had my share,) I think that in my case the *King has been misled, and* IS NOT TO BLAME! The time may arrive when he will do me justice for this frank avowal.

Before I take leave of you, my good and devoted subjects, permit me to make a few concluding observations. I declare upon *my honour as a QUEEN*, I have no wish to live with the *King*. Were such a thing possible, it would only end in a fresh rupture, and a repetition of all those ills that have of late convulsed the country, and, through the efforts of a corrupt Ministry

brought the crown into disrepute, and nearly raised a civil war, in consequence of a domestic difference betwixt two people.

The *King's Letter* says much to prove, or rather to induce the public to believe, that the QUEEN has no rights; that she is merely a *Subject*, with no more superior claims to power than any *private Gentlewoman* in the nation. I freely admit that I am a subject of the KING's, for all wives are bound in obedience to their husbands. Now, if I am not entitled to a single *privilege* as *Queen Consort of England*; if I am merely a *married woman*, according to the established forms, how can I be proceeded against for an alleged crime of adultery on a charge of HIGH TREASON? If I have no more rights than any other of my free-born female subjects, surely a case of *Criminal Conversation* only could be adduced against me. These are arguments founded on reason, and might be exemplified by many re-

flections springing from justice and religion. This I decline ; all my friends can comment for me better than I can for myself ; and I never feel myself better satisfied, or more happy, than at those times when my character, opinions, and resolutions are canvassed by the people of England.

It is not my place here to say, why I so decidedly objected to being tried by the *House of Lords* ; that has been ably done long ago. I mean no disrespect to that honourable and enlightened *body of Elders*, nor do I mean any compliment to the KING, when I say, that had it been left to my own choice, I would rather have been tried in CARLTON PALACE, with the KING for my JUDGE, than by the *House of Lords*. That *the KING can do no wrong* is a Statute Law of the realm, which throws upon his Ministers the responsibility of answering for all the acts which issue from the Crown. I am so well convinced that the KING never ap-

plied this statute to himself as an individual, that I would have cheerfully submitted to be judged by him, and *willingly, patiently, and obediently*, abided by his sentence. It would have been just, for he is generous; it would have been kind, for he is merciful; and it would have been *right*, for I am sure *he has not a heart to do any one wrong.*

I hope I shall never live to see the splendid monarch of England descend to the grave before me; but I may be allowed to draw on posterity for an opinion of a person who has so largely put into the mouths of future generations my *Epithalamium*. I would say, “The memory of a man’s failings exist not when he is no more. The *errors* of this monarch were numerous—his *virtues* more so. He had the *good fortune* to be beloved by his subjects, and the *misfortune* not to know it. He lived to see his errors, to discard his ministers, and at last closed in peace a life during which

Virtue and Passion had been at perpetual variance."

Such is what I could wish to put into future historians' mouths; but we must leave those things to Him, to whom "all hearts are open, all desires known." I have done as I would wish to be done by; I have acted throughout conscientiously; my cause has been decided in my favour before an earthly tribunal of a strange nature, and I fear not its issue in another world, where favour can be of no avail, and distinctions have no place.

All I wish for is my *establishment* such as it ought to be. With nothing less than this will I be satisfied. I will never compromise one single iota of what is due to me as *Queen Consort of England*. Nor will the people be content until they see me fixed in my proper station. I am not now

making a *demand* of the *King*. If I did he would not refuse me, if he acted from his own judgment, but he is not permitted to do so. I trust I shall have my proper establishment. In this even my persecutors have not any thing to dread. If I regulate my household with propriety, I shall reside in tranquillity, and so will the *King*. If I act so as to give offence to the “*moral tone*” of the people, my court will be soon deserted, and I shall be compelled to quit the country for ever without a compulsory mandate.

I have endeavoured to bury all irritating feeling in my remarks on the *King's* letter, to be just and generous, to do as I hope in future to be done by; and if every one (interested in the welfare of the land) does as I have done, the *King* will shortly be released from his *selfish* advisers, and no longer *reign* by *his* Ministers, but in the hearts of his people.

I fervently pray for both the temporal and *eternal* felicity of the KING, and that he may yet live to add additional lustre to the crown, and prove the real Father of his people.

Caroline.

Concluding Observations.

THE Author and Publisher of this Reply are staunch friends to the *King*, the *Queen*, the *nation*, and the *laws*. In consequence of a letter lately sent forth to the world as *from the King*, it is replied to it in one *as from the Queen*. The Author will not yield his sentiments of loyalty for the existing dynasty to any one in existence. Truth is adhered to, and whilst some mis-statements are corrected in the *King's* letter, he has never attempted to deny an anecdote that bore on its face the appearance of fact. He has acted impartially towards both parties, and none can with truth find fault with "*The Queen's Reply to the King's Letter.*" No

apology will be made for assuming the *Queen's* name, and writing in her person. The Author has a relation, a *counsellor*, who assures him he has not done wrong, and he humbly thinks, that, if *Milton* escaped a prosecution for blasphemy in putting words into the mouth of the Almighty, he cannot well be censured for making her Majesty deliver what are known to be her real sentiments.

If any one thinks the Author has been too favourable in the cause of the KING, let him studiously read what has been said for the QUEEN and the People; he will then find that he has done his duty as an honest Author, who has nothing to hope from this Publication, but the satisfaction of having acted conscientiously to his country.

Whether such Publications as the one which have given rise to this very short reply do good to the country or the Ministers, the

Author does not presume to judge ; he can only say, in his present situation, as an advocate in the cause of the Queen and virtue, he has replied with his best ability, never forgetting that the KING has been a sufferer in a proportionate degree as much as the QUEEN, for if we allow for *popular feeling* on the one side, we should give some consideration to *private feeling* on the other.

VIVAT REX ET REGINA.

Carlton Palace, Dec. 1, 1820.

TO ALL OUR LOVING SUBJECTS AND COUNTRYMEN,
HOWEVER EXALTED IN RANK OR HUMBLE IN
STATION, THE KING SENDS ALIKE HIS MOST
AFFECTIONATE GREETING.

THE liberty of the press does not permit to your King, the possibility of remaining ignorant of passing events, or unaffected by the public agitation: at one and the same time it conveys to me sentiments of satisfaction or grounds of complaint; the promised support of the constitutional, and the threat of the disaffected. My own conduct, the measures of my executive, the state of my kingdom, and the condition of my subjects, are placed before me in as many various, confused, and contradictory positions, as the greater or lesser degree of information, the rivalry of party, the animosity of prejudice, or the insidiousness of faction alternately suggest. In this chaos of contrariety, to me the first great difficulty is, to discover the truth; the next, so to manage the discovery, as to produce from it some sound and dispassionate course of action.

This liberty of the press, in itself a great abstract good, capable alike of being converted into a bane or antidote, and, by discreet and conscientious management, capable also of promoting and effecting immortal

benefits to mankind, or inflicting upon them irremediable ills, keeps up at least a constant communication between us, depriving the courtier of the power of concealing from his Sovereign public opinion, and placing him within the effect of inquiry. With such a constant possibility of explanation, a Monarch may be misguided, but cannot be uninformed; he may adopt decisive rules of government, but cannot remain ignorant of their effects.

Although it is presumed that I become acquainted with political occurrences and opinions, solely through the channel of my official advisers, and can only constitutionally address my people through the regular organ of parliament, or of my council; yet at this momentous crisis, pregnant with evil to our common country, and to me so interesting as a man and a husband, but above all, as the inheritor of my Royal Father's crown, the form and mode of this communication may stand shielded and excused, in the generally anomalous character of the circumstances to which I shall hereafter advert: nor, on so singular an occasion, do I think it derogatory to the dignity of my exalted station, to attempt the dispersion of a mist, in which too many of my subjects have wandered, led on by a generous delusion.

I will not accuse, I do not accuse, of disaffection either to my person or government, *all* who are advocates for the cause of the Queen; for in that cause, I perceive plainly a variety of motives in activity; in the combination of those motives, differing widely from each other, the immediate danger appears to consist: but it is also, from their discordance, that future tranquillity may be expected. I am persuaded that could my sub-

jects, upon reflection, be brought to consider the probability of my being an injured and calumniated Prince, they would abstain from further insult to the crown inherited from GEORGE THE THIRD. I am also persuaded that public opinion, although forced into extremes by the goadings of a portion of the daily press, alike unrestrained by truth, and as devoid of principle, as lost to the common civilities of society, would soon right itself; when a plain and simple narrative (such as any man of reasonable mind might comprehend) should supersede the distorted and tortured facts which have lately pre-occupied too great a part of the nation.

So many years have elapsed since the period of my unhappy marriage, that it may not be inexpedient (indeed it appears absolutely necessary, in order to develope certain springs of action) to recall the times and circumstances in which, and by which, this event was produced.

The French Revolution was at its height; the Royal Family of France had been murdered; Holland had imbibed the revolutionary mania, and the Stadtholder had fled to this protecting country; at home a traitorous spirit was actively at work; trials for high treason had served only to increase the insolence of faction, and foster rebellion; Ireland was on the verge of open revolt; and every political appearance threatened an attempt upon the constitution of these realms; a dreadful war was raging: yet, amidst and in the face of all these evils, it was the wish of my Royal Father to strengthen the succession to the throne of these realms; and the more especially, as my royal brother of York had been married four years, without the expectation

of a family. No moment could be less auspicious than the one chosen. My own inclination was averse to a marriage of expediency; nor need I tell my subjects under what disadvantages a Prince of the Royal Family labours, and more especially the heir apparent born in the Kingdom, in a chance for matrimonial happiness; and for myself, confined by the laws of my country within the limits of the realm, I could never hope to lead my countrymen to the field of battle, in her just wars, or extend my sphere of useful acquirement, by foreign travels, and the personal examination of the customs, manners, and government of other countries. Of the character of their princes and courtiers, I could only learn by intermediate report.

Debarred thus from active employment, and destined to pass my time in royal idleness; surrounded with pleasures at every step, and captivated with beauty; it would not be the most difficult enigma to solve, how I became thoughtlessly extravagant. Notwithstanding I had experienced the generosity of my countrymen, when twenty-four years of age; yet in nine years after, my debts became again the object of serious consideration. In the midst of a war then raging, expensive beyond all former precedent, and with no glimpse of termination; when monarchy throughout Europe was threatened with annihilation; some powerful and unanswerable motive, or some important and ostensible good, could alone justify the minister of the day, in applying to Parliament for the payment of the debts of an extravagant Prince, for such I acknowledge myself to have been.

The justification of the measure was found to be in *my marriage*.

The nation most generously paid my debts, made provision for such marriage, and I became an *expedient* party to the contract. For me there was no escape; the interest of my creditors demanded such sacrifice; a sacrifice of which my heart could only appreciate the extent.

But although the match was forced, and I was left (unlike my subjects) to no voluntary choice, I had still a right to expect in a Princess of exalted ancestry, and one previously allied to me by relationship, a female of chaste person and uncontaminated taste.

But the morning which dawned on the consummation of this marriage, witnessed its virtual dissolution.

Our daughter, the lamented Princess Charlotte, the child of a fond and admiring nation, was born precisely at the moment prescribed by nature.

Of the causes which led to this immediate separation, which however was for a time most carefully concealed, and concealed, I trust, from no ungenerous feeling on my part, it does not belong to me to detail the explanation. But who beside ourselves was interested in it? Surely the family of the illustrious female in question! Did they complain? Did they remonstrate? Did they demand a restitution of conjugal rights between us? Did they interfere to conciliate, to palliate, to explain? Never. By their silence then was I justified in requiring at a proper moment, a more openly avowed separation. *The first wrong was done to me.*

The situation in which my Royal Father was placed towards us both, was one of peculiar delicacy, and requires your particular attention. Independently of his own good and well-intentioned motives, he could not but feel that I had sacrificed my happiness to obe-

dience to his will, and to those urgent and pressing political influences which directed that will. To him, therefore, it must have been painful to find, that all chance of connubial connexion was destroyed as soon as formed; it must also have been painful to him to know, that in commanding my marriage, he had (however unintentionally) clogged my high station with a source of constant anxiety and unceasing misrepresentation. Again: as towards the then Princess of Wales, his late Majesty, my revered Father and King, could not but have felt, that a marriage so brought about at his urgent desire, and enforced upon one positive condition, called forth from him more especially every increased attention towards the illustrious female whom he had introduced into the country; nor could this fatherly attention be otherwise than the more marked and decisive, on account of the relationship of that illustrious female in question to the then Queen of these realms. His most sacred Majesty was thus doubly and peculiarly bound to the protection of the interests of this illustrious female, as well as to a gentlemanly forbearance towards a son, through his influence so unexpectedly, so unusually, and I may add so unhappily circumstanced. This line of nice distinction and difficult conduct, so honourably and so nobly adhered to by his late Majesty, led to the erroneous supposition, that my honoured and royal parent and myself were at variance upon this important occasion: but such was not in the slightest degree the fact; the subject was, as it were, interdicted mutually from our conferences and meetings, and I always honoured my royal parent the more highly for the motives which influenced and marked out the line of conduct he felt himself pecu-

liarly called upon to adopt. His aim was, to soften by every means of alleviation in his power the situation of the Princess; but, at the same time, he was left without cause of accusation against his son's early determination.

Having rested the propriety of my conduct upon the silence of the relatives of the Princess, on an occasion when silence on their part could only have been imposed by a knowledge of a means of justification; and having discovered the principle which generosity and hospitality dictated to my late father and King in his conduct towards the Princess, I now refer to a letter, dated Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796; which letter has been termed, insolently, unjustifiably, and almost traitorously, a letter of license.

“*It was always competent for the Princess of Wales to demand from me, if she felt herself so justified, the restitution of her conjugal rights.*” That a female of her lofty daring should not have taken such a step, admits a very strong argument in favour of the retiring husband; at all events, it allows of the inference, that there was a domestic and personal cause for separation, to which the parties mutually consented.

This letter of the 30th of April above alluded to may be considered as containing the terms of our separation. On this letter, which evidently refers to former conferences and previous communications, and was written to the Princess at her own request, I have but one observation to make, namely,—“That pending the arrangement for an open and avowed separation, the then Princess of Wales, through the medium of Lady Cholmondeley, required *that the separation should be final and conclusive, as to any future particular*

on the measures necessary to be adopted.” Had I

intercourse, and not to be renewed at any period, even though our child the Princess Charlotte should die." To this proposition I assented; by this proposition I have abided, and ever will abide. It is an extra proposition emanating from the Queen; it contains her own terms.

From the moment of this open and avowed separation, *rendered perpetual* by the proposition of her Royal Highness; I can call herself and the kingdom to witness, whether any thing has been withheld from the personal accommodation of the Princess of Wales? Whether a suitable establishment, regulated by herself, was not provided for her comfort? Whether I ever interfered with her arrangements, her society, or her social convenience; in short, I boldly challenge my people to the proof, whether I had ever been guilty of any step, directly or indirectly, to break in upon that arrangement of tranquillity and comfortable society, which was the basis of our mutual separation.

This separation between the Princess and myself, partook not in its origin, of the smallest political mixture; it was purely an unhappy but unavoidable domestic occurrence, of which the good manners of both parties might have softened the effect; and in which, strict propriety of conduct, such as befitted the second lady in the land, might have commanded my respect; though an insurmountable obstacle was opposed to any further feeling. During this separation, the Princess of Wales possessed the most uncontrouled choice and command of her own household; she was mistress of her own conduct; was still the wife of the heir apparent to the throne, and mother of the heiress presumptive. The Princess must have been aware of the superior legal responsibility attached to the high and

important rank she held in the empire ; and the peculiarity of her situation demanded a greater degree of discretion ; painful and singular as was that situation, it was one in which the Princess might have shone with additional splendour, had she maintained a dignified and elegant association.

I am charged by the giddy press and the partizans of the Queen, with having, upon all occasions, besieged her with spies and suborned traducers.

At the period of this separation in 1796, the then Princess of Wales surrounded herself, not with any friends of mine, but with an establishment of her own choice. But suppose, for argument sake, this false assertion to be true ; how completely useless would have been the office of those spies and tale-bearers, had the conduct of her Royal Highness given no grounds for their occupation ! In such a case, the more closely her Royal Highness had been watched, the more spotless, chaste and unquestionable would her conduct have appeared. Ought it, under any circumstances, even of presumed aggravation, to have been otherwise ?

I approach now the period of the first investigation of 1806, which took place *ten years* after the separation ; and which carried back its research four years from the date of its report. The very circumstance, that it became necessary to trace *through several years* the conduct of her Royal Highness, allows me fairly to assert that which was the fact ; namely, “ that it was not until after tale upon tale had been in wide circulation for a long period ; nor until those reports assumed the threatening character of high treason, that I determined to advise with a retired Lord Chancellor on the measures necessary to be adopted.” Had I

been actuated by the foul spirit attributed to me, I had at that moment an opportunity of gratifying such revenge, by demanding a public trial instead of a private investigation. The base political purposes to which the privacy of that proceeding was subsequently applied, might almost tempt me to regret that I had not done so; yet I do not regret it, since the motive was (even at the very moment of an inquiry becoming legally expedient) to shield the object of it as much as possible from publicity, I might almost say, to accommodate her acquittal. Upon this occasion, the reputation and character of those eminent noblemen, Lords Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough, must first be destroyed, before I can be charged with provoking *an unnecessary inquiry* into the existence of circumstances which had long been circulating through every rank of society, which were at the time generally believed to be true, or enveloped in a mystery far removed from that absence of all doubtful and suspicious appearances, which should characterize the conduct of a Princess of Wales. On this occasion, the some honourable feelings which had invariably guided the conduct of my Royal Father and King, inclined him still to shield and protect her Royal Highness, and to place the least culpable interpretation upon the circumstances of that mysterious case. It was the same generous feeling which induced my Royal Father to adopt, as a previous step, my proposal of a private and confidential inquiry, in a matter, where less considerate conduct might, at once, have transferred the cause of offence to a public tribunal. Throughout the whole of this affair, her Royal Highness was treated with a delicacy suitable to the peculiarity of her situation, to which every, and the most generous consideration

was paid. Her Royal Highness was aware of it, and *at the moment* felt herself so treated.

Did I, upon this occasion, dissent from the line of conduct recommended to be pursued? No. Did I interfere with the duties of the noble lords commissioners upon the occasion? No. Did I, as a husband, cease to perform the terms of separation even after the imperious necessity which had devolved upon me as Prince of Wales, of requiring indemnity for the succession to the throne? No. I assert, that in the conflicting duties imposed upon me as a husband, and as Prince of Wales, that when the admonition of my royal parent was deemed sufficient for the occasion, I acquiesced. Nor, on a subsequent occasion, did I hesitate to pay the debts of the illustrious person in question, in her character of my wife. Nay more, I carried still further the spirit of conciliation, and proof of my acquiescence in the result of such investigation, by the subsequent advance to honour and distinction of one of the parties implicated criminally in the charge against the then Princess of Wales. I am therefore, on that occasion, the avowed approver of the result of the inquiry; and stand convicted, either of being regardless of my own honour, or of being satisfied that the accusation was over-strained.

Before I dismiss this part of my letter, I would direct the attention of my subjects and countrymen to the rigour of the law, applicable to the wife of the heir apparent to the throne. An error which, in any female of less distinguished rank, is merely a civil injury, in the wife of the Prince of Wales *is a crime against the nation*. The mere act of offence is in both cases alike; but in the one may be attended with the last penalty, that of death. If therefore, in any proceedings connected with

the case of a prince of Wales, there appears a greater measure of legal harshness, to which our moral feelings are opposed, it should be remembered, that the anomaly is created by the statutes of the realm. I made not the law for myself.

When the Princess of Wales had received the admonitory letter of 1806, no complaint at the time was made by her, either against its justice, or the mode in which the inquiry had been conducted. It was reserved to revive the painful subject seven years after its occurrence; and to attack the proceedings, as well as the intermediate restraint which had been imposed on the intercourse of the Princess with our daughter; in a letter dated early in 1813, addressed to me as Regent of these United Kingdoms. That letter, as containing a matter of complaint deserving of inquiry, was submitted, without regard to the personally offensive remarks contained in it, to several dignitaries of the church and of the law. Upon this second report, the restriction alluded to was still continued, and the aspersions cast upon the testimony of certain witnesses connected with the inquiry of 1806, were pronounced to be *wholly groundless, and without the slightest support of Proof.*

It is important for me to draw your attention to the circumstance, that the two reports were drawn up by noblemen of differing political sentiments, accustomed to constant parliamentary opposition; if therefore from such an ordeal, the proceedings of 1806 have escaped censure, and consequently became stamped with a character of fair and impartial justice, I have a right to demand, and do demand, a full and complete acquittal from all those false and unprincely motives, by which my conduct has been stigmatised; I plead guilty only

of one motive, "That of preserving to my daughter her rights, and protecting the purity of succession to the throne of my ancestors."

Had the result of this second report, produced by a set of political reasoners wholly opposed to the first commissioners, varied from the report of such commissioners; had it brought home to the witnesses upon the former occasion, any charge of perjury, or have elicited any trace of unworthy motive, or corruptly contrived evidence; it would have been my unavoidable duty as Regent, and the office most pleasing to me as a husband and man, to have revived that inquiry, and have punished the guilty participators in it; and besides, it was at all times open to the Princess *to bring her accusers before the tribunals of her country*. Unless therefore every principle of civilized conduct has been violated by me, and I alone have proceeded upon impulses different from all mankind, surely, on my own account, I must have rejoiced at any elucidation which had sprung up, had it been only for the mere selfish purpose *of wiping from myself* the mortification of such recorded aspersions. Was it to be supposed, that I should tamely cover myself with the mantle of my own shame, could I have had it in my power to destroy every thread of the garment? I should have deserved the scorn of the age, and ill merited the allegiance of my father's subjects, could I have hesitated one moment in following the minutest ray which might detect the mystery of 1806, and completely clear her Royal Highness from those charges.

But from the date of this letter in 1813, the whole transaction, which had hitherto been treated as a domestic difference, assumed on the part of the Princess of Wales a political aspect. To this point I shall

subsequently refer ; for the present, therefore, I will pass on to the period of her departure to visit the continent.

Upon this occasion, her Royal Highness addressed her intentions to me, through the medium of the Earl of Liverpool, in a Letter dated the 25th July 1814, in which her Royal Highness stated as her first and her most urgent motive for wishing to retire to the continent, "The restoration of tranquillity to my mind." Her Royal Highness then goes on to complain of the indignities and mortification to which she had been exposed, by being withheld from receiving her nearest relations, and the most intimate friends of the late Duke of Brunswick, her father ; and alludes to the rupture of the proposed alliance between our daughter, the Princess Charlotte, and the Prince of Orange. Her Royal Highness also pointing out her route, states that she intends to return to Brunswick her native country, and with a degree of uncertainty adds, she *may* afterwards travel into Italy and Greece, and proposes certain arrangements as to the disposition of her private property. To all these points I subjoin the reply, as transmitted through my prime minister, with this one observation, that Lord Liverpool does not *silently* pass over the circumstance of her Royal Highness possessing apartments in a royal palace, (to which her Royal Highness makes no allusion in her letter,) but absolutely states, that such apartments will still be retained for the use of her Royal Highness ; thus, if any conscious doubts had existed in the mind of the Princess, and this omission was intended to draw from me any expression as to the length of her stay on the continent, or whether I considered that the departure of the Princess was intended to be permanent, such doubts are

clearly removed by the specific allusion of Lord Liverpool to those particular apartments in a royal palace.

Her Royal Highness then leaves England by her own voluntary act, at her own express desire, retaining by the avowed will of the Prince (acting on behalf of the King) a residence, to which, at any time, she might return. There is also a second point in this letter of the Princess, on which I would make one short observation. Her Royal Highness, referring to the mode of disposal of part of her property, uses this expression: "The Princess of Wales hopes the Prince Regent will *grant* this favour, *the last that she will solicit.*" I ask then, Is this the language of a wife receiving injuries from a husband, or is it not characteristic of language from a wife to a husband who, though separated from that husband, had ever been accustomed to receive from him every favour and benefit which could with honour be granted? I subjoin the reply alluded to, as it corrects the political points contained in the letter of the Princess.

*Letter of Lord Liverpool to the Princess of Wales,
dated the 28th of July 1814.*

"Lord Liverpool has had the honour to receive the letter of her Royal Highness. Having communicated it to the Prince Regent, he has ordered him to inform her Royal Highness that he can have no objection to the intentions of her Royal Highness to effect the design which she announces to the Prince Regent, of returning to her native country, to visit her brother the Duke of Brunswick, assuring her, that the Prince Regent will never throw any obstacle in the way of her present or future intentions as to the place where she may wish to reside.

"The Prince Regent leaves her Royal Highness at liberty to exercise her own discretion as to her abode in this country or on the continent, as it may be convenient to her.

“ Lord Liverpool is also commanded, on the part of the Prince Regent, to inform her Royal Highness, that he will not throw any obstacles in the way of the arrangements of her Royal Highness, whatever they may be, respecting the house at Blackheath, which belonged to the late Duchess of Brunswick, or the rest of the private property of her Royal Highness. But that, for reasons rather too long to explain, the Prince Regent will not permit the Princess Charlotte to be ranger of Greenwich Park, or to occupy any of the houses at Blackheath, which her Royal Highness has hitherto occupied.

“ Lord Liverpool has also been enjoined, on the part of the Prince Regent, before he closes the letter which he has the honour to send to her Royal Highness, to tell her, in relation to the two articles which her Royal Highness has put in her letter concerning the rupture of the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the hereditary Prince of Orange, as well as to the reason for which the allied sovereigns did not, previously to their departure from England, pay their visit to her Royal Highness; that, as to the first article, Lord Liverpool is commanded by the Prince Regent to inform her Royal Highness, that the Prince Regent is not persuaded that the private considerations of the circumstances in which the Princess is placed, can have been an obstacle to the marriage of the Princess Charlotte. As to the second article, Lord Liverpool is also enjoined, on the part of the Prince Regent, to signify to her Royal Highness, that the Prince Regent never opposed himself to the allied sovereigns making a visit to her Royal Highness during their stay in London.

“ Lord Liverpool has the honour to be with all esteem and the highest consideration.

“ P. S. The Prince Regent can make no difficulties on the subject of the directions which the Princess has the intention of giving as to the house at Blackheath; neither will the Prince Regent oppose her Royal Highness's retaining the apartments in the Palace of Kensington, in the same manner as she possessed them while in London, for the convenience of herself and suite.”

At the period then of the departure of her Royal Highness from the kingdom, the very last communication between us was on my part, that of assuring her, that the residence more particularly occupied by her as a state residence, should be considered as remaining still at her disposal ; thus placing a seal of oblivion on the past, and according every thing but personal communication.

Her Royal Highness was enabled to quit England as became her rank, with a suite of her own choice, with zealous friends among that suite, and with every facility afforded her of rendering her stay on the continent comfortable and convenient. Her public reception at foreign courts naturally depended on, and was regulated by established etiquette.

I have thus brought down the material circumstances of my unhappy marriage, to the period of the departure of her Royal Highness for the continent ; the transactions in themselves, however unfortunate, are plain and simple, easily understood, and as capable of explanation, when viewed without any selfish tendency to party or faction. The incidents may be thus briefly stated,---

1. Our private separation.
2. Our public separation.
3. The interval between our public separation, and the inquiry of 1806.
4. The complaint of the Princess in 1813, as to the restricted intercourse between herself and daughter.
5. The retirement of the Princess to the continent.

The first point, (the reasons of our private separation), it does not become me to explain ; her

Royal Highness might, (if she had so pleased,) have claimed in the proper court, the restitution of her conjugal rights; such a proceeding would have produced an explanation.

As to the second point, we separated upon terms mutually understood, and to which the Princess added herself a peremptory condition; those terms have by me been inviolably preserved; as a husband I enabled my wife to maintain the dignity of her rank and station as Princess of Wales; I visited her separation with no pecuniary privations, but on the contrary, paid for her, debts exceeding her means of expenditure to the amount of forty-nine thousand pounds; the government of the country at the same time liquidating a further sum of thirty-one thousand pounds.

As to the third point, the preceding remarks, in part apply. On the subject of the actual inquiry, I may be allowed to say, that the Prince of Wales is born with certain rights previously created, as a line of duty to be by him fulfilled. The preservation of the chastity of his wife, with a view to the purity of the succession, is one of those duties. When therefore in consequence of rumours too loud and too deep to remain unheard, I demanded an enquiry, as part of the duty of my high birth and national rank; I submitted the case to the responsible ministers of the crown; I acquiesced in the sentence passed upon the termination of the inquiry, and bowed to the decision which had been pronounced by the warm and zealous friend of the Princess, who was judge upon the occasion.

As to the fourth point, I endeavoured by every means in my power to prevent our disputes from taking

a political turn, embarrassing to the government of the country ; and I most particularly aimed at preserving in the mind of the Princess Charlotte, a neutrality on the delicate occasion : the restriction imposed on the intercourse between the Princess and her daughter was connected with the system of her education, which by law, rested with the Sovereign. When on a subsequent period in 1813, the Princess of Wales addressed to me as Regent, a letter alluding to such restriction, and also to the proceedings of 1806, almost grown out of recollection, I submitted such letter to noblemen, differing in political opinion from those who had on the former occasion made a report on the conduct of the Princess ; the result of this re-enquiry produced no change, no imputation on the former statements and evidence, and I still continued to consider the whole affair as one of domestic inconvenience, in as much as the succession to the throne was pronounced *not to be endangered*.

As to the fifth point, upon the retirement of her Royal Highness to the continent, I continued to the Princess her residence in a royal palace, leaving it as a domicile open to her return, and I declare upon my honour as a Prince, that I never, on any previous occasion threw the slightest obstacle in the way of her Royal Highness's comfort, tranquillity, and domestic arrangement. The affairs of Princes cannot be conducted in the same obscure and unostentatious mode as those of private individuals ; to snatch a few moments of private life, is in a Prince, to enjoy real happiness. All the difficulties which have occurred in the case in question have been produced and created, they were not of natural origin, but have been foisted on the original evil by fac-

ti ous persons, seeking to advance their own political purposes. Had not the Princess placed herself avowedly in such hands, many of the mortifications of her situation had been avoided ; they would indeed have had no existence. Finally, I declare again, upon my honour, that my conduct aimed to keep the whole unhappy affair within the character of a domestic and purely personal misfortune ; and it is only by the attempts made by faction, to give it a political complexion, that the attention of the people has been fixed upon it as a national grievance.

I have now, my subjects and fellow-countrymen, gone through the first great division of my letter ; I approach the second, I trust with feelings, as a King, suitable to the occasion.

Hitherto I have appeared only as Prince of Wales, and Regent.

* * * * *

Her Royal Highness quitted England as Princess of Wales early in August in the year 1814, and in the succeeding November (a short interval of three months,) appears *to have consulted my tranquillity*, by furnishing grounds for *a third* enquiry into the propriety of her conduct. After *three years of rumours*, a *commission* to examine into their truth or falsehood, was a *third time* rendered necessary for the honour of the Crown of these realms ; thus in both cases, as well in the investigation of 1806, as also in that of 1818, it was not until *years of rumour* had been allowed to rouse suspicions, that any official measures were adopted to enquire into their reality.

Possibly the great error has been, that such rumours were permitted to remain so long without an enquiry,

Had spies really surrounded her Royal Highness, the purposes of a commission of enquiry would have been anticipated and rendered unnecessary.

When the powers of my regency merged in the succession to the throne, one of the first duties devolving upon me as a head of the Church, was “to settle according to the Act of Uniformity, such parts of the Liturgy as were affected by the decease of my venerable Father and King of blessed memory.”

How lightly have too many of my subjects thought of the feelings by which their sovereign must have been influenced upon so solemn an occasion !

How inconsiderately have too many of my subjects viewed this vital act of religion as a mere matter of form, requiring only a dash of the pen !

How narrowly have too many of my subjects confined their sense of this form, within the bounds of custom and precedent !

How blindly have too many of my subjects viewed this act of devotional formulary !

And how completely have too many of my subjects separated the act to be done, from him upon whom fell the most painful duty of its performance !

Behold then, your Sovereign, in the presence of that God to whom all hearts are open ; required by the first servant of our holy national Church, to sanction as head of that Church, a formulary, in which the thousands and tens of thousands, and millions of his subjects were to address their prayers, and praises, and supplications to the King of Kings.

Behold him thus situated, called upon to doubt and to decide between his conscience and his feelings,

whether his own wife deserved, without hesitation, to be admitted to the high dignity, *de facto*, of Queen of these united Kingdoms. Behold him, thus situated, and himself obliged to decide, no other authority, according to the laws of the realm, having power to relieve him from the duty. And why was I thus called upon to doubt? Because my council, according to their oaths, "which is to advise for the King's honour and good of the public, without partiality, through affection, love, meed, doubt, or dread;" and in performance of their duty, which is "*to enquire into all offences against the government*;" had not left me unacquainted with the existence of a *primâ facie* case, of gross and long-continued adultery, alleged to be committed by the late Princess of Wales, now *de jure* the Queen.

It became therefore evident, it was unavoidable, that whenever the Queen thought proper to return to my kingdom, she must meet this charge, the truth or falsehood of which remained still to be proved. My council strictly confined themselves to their legal duty, *that of enquiring only*: and the features of that enquiry imposed upon them the painful duty of placing the Queen in a state of abeyance.

This solemn decision, I may say, this vitally religious act, presented itself to me in two points of view. Was I, with such knowledge in my possession, to recommend unhesitatingly and specially, the name of the Queen, to the prayers of the Church? Or was I to leave that name to be inserted when her Majesty should have wiped off this foul charge of adultery. In the first case, it might possibly have fallen to my

painful office, again to have expunged the insertion ; and in the second case, it might happily have been my duty to have supplied the omission. Which, of the two modes afforded the least probability of future embarrassment ? As yet, only a *primâ facie* suspicion of adultery was exhibited against the Queen ; I had a right to presume her innocent, I had a right to expect that future circumstances might justify the insertion of her Majesty's name, but such an insertion being a matter of discretion, the words "*and all the Royal Family,*" *did not exclude the Queen.* To have inserted the Queen's name specially, and subsequently to have found myself obliged by the law of the land to expunge it ; would, with a great degree of reason, have subjected me to the charge of having first introduced such name, that I might enjoy the malicious triumph of erasing it ; thus adding encreased harshness to any future sentence. By using the phrase, "*and all the Royal Family ;*" *any future alteration*, under any circumstances of substantiated guilt or innocence, *would be rendered unnecessary.* To have inserted the name of the Queen, with a knowledge such as I possessed through my legal council, would, in my opinion, have been contrary to the laws of the kingdom ; for among other charges which *might* have been brought forward against the Queen, was, "*her probable conversion to the Roman Catholic faith.*" But to *postpone* the insertion of the name of the Queen, and afterwards to have been called upon to supply the omission, would, to her Majesty, have been a gracious act of acquittal, and restoration to regal honor ; and I had a right to hope that such would be the result. Besides, the object and intention of the postponement of this insertion, was most certainly, not

with a view to any proceedings against the Queen, but in anticipation of that continuance of mutual separation, which the Queen, in her letter of leave, declared to be “necessary to my future tranquillity.”

I will suppose for one moment, the insertion to have been made. Had it been done under concealment from me, of existing circumstances, *my ministers would have been guilty of misprision of treason, and been liable to impeachment.* But as it was done with my knowledge; if ten thousands of ten thousand tongues were to demand of me, to tarnish the crown of your King, I would abandon it to the people rather than commit so great a crime. Whatever may have been the indiscretions of THE MAN, the future historian of England, shall never record them as connected with THE KING.

It should not be overlooked, that the alteration of the Liturgy was also to regulate my own public devotion, as well as that of my subjects; should I not then by the special insertion of the name of the Queen, under existing circumstances, have most deservedly subjected myself to a charge of impious and detestable hypocrisy? “You have been praying yourself specially for the Queen; you Royal Hypocrite! whilst you have watched her destruction; would have been a just and answerable accusation against me; an accusation, which, if well-founded, would have rendered the word of the King unworthy of belief.

Those only are the real exclusionists, who do not choose to comprehend the Queen, as implied in the words, “and all the Royal Family.”

Had either the religious or legal considerations of this important point permitted me conscientiously to

have inserted the name of the Queen in the Liturgy of the Church; all other minor considerations would have had no bearing upon the question; for that which would have been consistent with religion and law, could not have been *contra bonos mores*. I dwell not therefore on the subject, as connected with the morals of the country, but in its consideration, and in all its vital bearings, I cannot but have contemplated the consequences of a Queen charged with high crimes and misdemeanors, sitting upon that throne so lately occupied by the personification of chastity and matrimonial excellence.

Will the virtuous and noble, the high-minded and chaste, the amiable and domestic females of England, adopt the Queen as an example and model worthy of their imitation? Will they pronounce her faultless? Will they compose her court? If I can place the Queen on the throne of my ancestors upon such terms, I am ready to do so. Upon none other, can or ought a Queen to sit upon the throne of pre-eminent England.

I proceed now to the offer of an ample allowance offered to the Queen, provided she continued to remain abroad in the retirement she had voluntarily adopted; and the alternative with which that offer was accompanied. I have pointed out *this transaction*, and *the suspension in the Liturgy*, as acts which may appear to have emanated more immediately from my own personal feelings.

I have previously remarked, that from the period of my becoming Regent, the differences between the Princess and myself had assumed a political character, and been treated by many as a party question.

The companions of my youth, and the distinguished

characters with whom, in my earlier years, I had intimately associated, had created in the public mind, a widely extended, and readily believed opinion, that when the sceptre of my Father should descend to me, I should, from among those associates, have chosen the members of my administration. During the discussion of the terms of the regency, I was careful to avoid giving any pledge of the line of policy I might find it expedient to adopt. A short previous administration, composed of those political friends by whom it was conjectured my councils would have been directed, had enabled me to form some opinion of their executive talents ; and *notwithstanding*, an overture was made by me to them, to propose an administration. But when I found the conditions required would have reduced me to a mere political automaton, of which they were to possess the key ; that not content with forming the administration, they required also, that I should be surrounded in my household by their adherents, and left to no choice in the appointment of my own attendants ; when with this, I compared the candour and the unequivocal absence of all personal feeling with which the bill creating the regency was carried by the then ministry ; and above all, the frank, loyal and respectful regret which was shewn to the calamity of my revered Parent ; and the so immediate provision made for the resumption by him of the regal dignity, that should it have pleased Providence so to have restored him ; my Royal Father would have awakened, as if from a dream, and have found himself unreminded of his affliction ; when to this I added the important consideration, that the flame of freedom was beginning to glimmer in Spain ; that the then "ad-

ministration were prepared to take advantage of every circumstance favourable to the destruction of the military tyrant of Europe ; and when all these various considerations were upheld by the weight of personal character which was contained in the then cabinet ; I felt sufficiently justified in not suffering former prepossessions to stand for one moment in the way of newly created duties. I felt that an existing experienced executive, was, at such a time, safer than a theoretical cabinet. I had also a doubt in my own mind, whether, during my Sovereign's life, I ought, as Regent, to adopt the principles of those who had been violently opposed to my Royal Father's measures, or pursue a line of policy unchanged, and such as my King would have continued had he remained the active head of the Empire. This was a feeling of the heart ; it was mine.

This, my determination, produced two consequences ;
 1. A series of unbroken, glorious, and important victories, attended with such results, as the history of the world, within a similar period of time, cannot produce ;
 2. The conversion of my matrimonial differences into a political attack upon my authority.

From this moment then, the Queen, by becoming the tool of party, gave to her cause and her conduct a new feature, and an importance which required the vigilant eye of the government.

I have been led into this digression, that the distinction I still endeavoured to uphold between my marital and royal station, might be plainly and easily comprehended. I return now to the consideration of the offer made to the Queen, of an allowance upon certain stipulations ; viz. that the Queen should *cease to use the name*

and style of Queen of England, and remain abroad, where she had voluntarily seceded.

The period when this determination was decided upon, must not be forgotten; it must not only, not be forgotten, but it should be allowed its due weight in the decision of so momentous an affair. It appears almost indeed to be overlooked, that I met my first parliament in the month of April, at the very period and while a set of infuriated, misguided, and unhappy culprits were on their trials for a conspiracy to overturn the constitution and government of these realms, of which the commencement was intended to be, the indiscriminate assassination of my cabinet ministers. The general situation of the country, at that precise moment, appears also to have been thrown into the back ground. I cannot better recall those unhappy inauspicious moments, than by repeating again to my subjects the topics addressed to the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, upon our first meeting.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ Deeply as I regret that the machinations and designs of the disaffected should have led in some parts of the country, to acts of open violence and insurrection, I cannot but express my satisfaction at the promptitude with which those attempts have been suppressed by the vigilance and activity of the magistrates, and by the zealous co-operation of all those of my subjects whose exertions have been called forth to support the authority of the laws.

“ The wisdom and firmness manifested by the late parliament and the due execution of the laws, have greatly contributed to restore confidence throughout the kingdom; and to discountenance those principles of sedition and irreligion, which had been disseminated with such malignant perseverance, and had poisoned the minds of the unwary and ignorant.

“ I rely upon the continued support of parliament, in my determination to maintain, by all the means entrusted to my hands, the public safety and tranquillity.

“ Deploring, as we all must, the distress which still unhappily prevails among many of the labouring classes of the community, and anxiously looking forward to its removal or mitigation, it is in the mean time, our common duty, effectually to protect the loyal, the peaceable, and the industrious, against those practices of turbulence and intimidation, by which the period of relief can only be deferred, and by which the pressure of the distress has been incalculably aggravated.

“ I trust that an awakened sense of the dangers which they have incurred, and of the acts which have been employed to seduce them, will bring back by far the greater part of those who have been unhappily led astray, and will revive in them that spirit of loyalty, that due submission to the laws, and that attachment to the constitution, which subsist unabated in the hearts of the great body of the people, and which under the blessing of Divine Providence, have secured to the British Nation, the enjoyment of a larger share of practical freedom, as well as of prosperity and happiness, than have fallen to the lot of any nation in the world.”

If to the pending trials alluded to, and this general reference to the state of the kingdom, suffering under severe privations in some of its provinces, are added the numerous cases of treason, libel, and minor political offences under the progressive cognizance of the courts of law ; I think my subjects and countrymen will admit, that to such previously existing evils *no addition was wanting to renew internal agitation which was beginning to subside.* The return of the Queen, under the circumstances in which she must necessarily meet, was of all others, calculated to revive that internal agitation ; and why was it so calculated ? because the Queen had, (as I have previously remarked) given by her conduct a political feeling to the differences between us. Had this not been the case, she could

not have had; at least she ought not to have had, any motives for her return; or had she any, she ought to have sacrificed them to the welfare of our country.

From 1796 we had been separated, a period now of twenty-four years; disturbed by an almost constant suspicion of her conduct: the Queen had been estranged from Court, our Royal Daughter was no more; and her Majesty had but one duty to perform towards me, “the performance of an agreed separation”

A Queen consort of England has no political rank, she possesses, *in ease* of the Sovereign, certain inherent prerogatives; those prerogatives are capable of being enjoyed by her, in her absence; they required not her presence. The presence of the Queen could neither revive trade languishing in some of its branches, tranquillize the irritation of distress, or conciliate the clamour of faction; and indeed, many records of English History hand down to us, the impolitic and dangerous counsels, which have ensued from the interference of Queens Consort in the political contests of the times. Although by way of eminent distinction, the word “Queen” is applicable only to the King’s wife, yet, it originally signifies a wife, or woman. A Queen of England (unless Queen in her own right,) is a subject of the King, and can claim no political character from the people; to her, at a coronation, no oath is administered, and no homage or allegiance offered. The coronation of a Queen is distinct, and subsequent to that of the King; it is not at all necessary to the accession or title to the throne; and when performed, is a ceremony so performed for the greater honour of the kingly office. It proceeds from the King. *

* Taylor’s Glory of Regality.

If therefore I am to define the office or duty of a Queen consort, I might sum it up in a few words, "To give a tone to *the morals* of the country." Does not the late reign furnish an indisputable proof of the truth of this axiom?

Since then the Queen had deprived herself, of the possibility of performing the duties of her station, and her return could produce none of those effects which were so evident during the long reign of my late Royal and revered Parents, could the next object of my solicitude be otherwise, than an attempt, still to treat the long borne separation, as a personal and domestic transaction?

The Queen was growing old, we are both beyond the hey-day of life, and the levities of conduct attributed to her, might now be supposed to have worn or to have been wearing away. Our country required political repose; and above all; an internal quietude. Had no charge of adultery at all existed, there were sufficient grounds on both sides, for wishing, and for rendering desirable, a continuance of the existing separation.

In private life, what would the friends of a married couple, so long divided as the Queen and myself have been, think of the conduct of a wife, who would wish to return to her husband, under circumstances, such as have occurred between us? Would any female in England so *meanly* conduct herself? Would any husband in England so take back a wife? If he would not, why should your king? If the female would not so return, why should the Queen? You will tell me, "To claim her rights." I reply, that the Queen possesses no political rights; but certain prescribed prerogatives;

those prerogatives are legally defined, their value as personal advantages can be ascertained ; they can be enjoyed by the Queen, as well absent as present. I have offered her an equivalent. You will tell me, “ That *she chooses* to return to our country, and that I have no right to restrain her.” The Queen has chosen to return, and by the laws of the realm must she now abide ; the Queen is my subject.

If then I am asked, “ why did I offer the Queen fifty thousand pounds a year to remain abroad, and cease to use openly the style and title of Queen of England,” I answer, “ To purchase the tranquillity of my country ; to prevent a recurrence of those acts which had seduced so many of my subjects into danger, and to bring them back to that spirit of loyalty, that due submission to the laws, and that attachment to the constitution, which I hope still subsists in the hearts of the great body of my people ;” all which I knew would be endangered by the *selfish return of a Queen*, who never can and never will sit upon the throne of England whilst George the Fourth wears the crown of his forefathers ; until the female nobility, shall in a body, justify him in such act, with their sanction and presence, every other rank of the virtuous and chaste would coincide.

Before I conclude this subject of an offered pension, I cannot but regret extremely, that the chance of cool and dispassionate deliberation which the Queen might have been disposed to have given to my offer and its alternative, was greatly diminished by the neglect of her Attorney-General, in the delivery of an ultimatum communicated to him in the month of April. Such neglect rendered Lord Hutchinson’s communication so much the more sudden, stern, and unexpected. Of the zeal of

that gentleman (her Majesty's Attorney General) no one can entertain a higher opinion than myself ; for his own sake, I may be allowed to say, that nothing disgraced his advocacy, but the threat of personal danger held out to the assembled peers of the realm. Otherwise, who would not wish to have a cause so defended? Had also her Majesty's Solicitor General omitted one or two similies in his declamation, he had also retired from his duty with more dignity. Upon the grounds of the case I am silent ; but looking to the conduct of the Lord Chancellor, the differences which existed between the members of the cabinet, the splendid and argumentative talents of the opposition, all tending and working together to elicit truth and produce an impartial judgment ; I may fearlessly ask, if under such principles, and in such an assembly, justice is not to be found ; I ask fearlessly, where does she dwell upon earth ? I view finally the pause which this unhappy affair has taken, as a striking proof of that inflexible adherence to parliamentary avowals, which combines the good man with the great minister ; and as the performance of the pledge, that "the Queen should have an equivalent for any and every obstacle which the anomaly of her case presented in the obstruction of her trial."

I am now drawing towards the close of this my letter, in the which my faithful subjects and excellent fellow-countrymen will (I trust) agree with me, not only that the difference existing between her Majesty and myself arose out of a domestic cause, and was solely of a domestic nature ; but that all the popular feeling which has been excited, has arisen from the political misdirection imposed upon the transaction, a transaction

important to the nation only as it can be connected with their welfare. How that welfare can be promoted by forcing upon a loathing husband an equally loathing wife, appears to me, a problem in government, not easily to be maintained in argument, or proved by historical reference. If I am unhappily united to a bad wife, or the Queen be under the caprice of a bad husband ; provided these unpleasantries be confined within the limits of our personal conduct, and are not mixed up with affairs of state, I see then no impediment to the due constitutional performance of my duties as King : but on the contrary, if the people disturb my kingly office, and clog its executive or dignity with an unseasonable family blister, the chance is that the system of government may become ill-executed, greatly obstructed, or completely embarrassed. If such is the aim of the partizans of the Queen, I have then only to declare this my determination, “ That if the claims of the Queen can make no impression on me *upon their own merits*, any political association which she may form to give weight to, or to disguise such claims, will only call forth from me as your King, a firmer defence of my own rights, which are the rights of the constitution under which I, the nobles, and the people, all alike find reciprocal protection.”

My people will now (I trust) begin to allow themselves more clearly to define, and more accurately to preserve the distinction between my conduct as Prince of Wales, with reference to the purity of the succession to the throne of my forefathers, and my behaviour as a separated husband. In the one case, the performance of painful public duties has devolved upon me ; but I feel satisfied that their unavoidable performance

has not been accompanied by uncourteous or vexatious personal conduct. To the high individual as a separate wife, every attention has been invariably paid, and upon every occasion, money has been at her command for the purposes of comfort, pleasure, or fickleness. Surely, in return for such complete observance of the terms of mutual separation, the Prince of Wales had a right to expect the performance of the only duty remaining to be performed by, and the only one required of the Princess ; namely, “ *An unquestionable and unequivocal propriety of conduct.*”

I could not probably fix upon a more convenient or appropriate mode of portraying the consequences of the present public effervescence than by anticipating the sentiments which some historian of my reign may hand down to future ages. I will do this in two ways ; *First*, Upon the supposition, that the Queen (even after what has already occurred,) will be reinstated in all the prerogatives of her rank ;” *and secondly*, “ That the Queen will remain estranged from the crown.”

IN THE FIRST CASE, the historian may be supposed thus to express himself: “ George the Fourth, after a Regency of nearly nine years, succeeded to the throne of his venerable and most excellent Father, whose eventful reign had extended beyond the period of any other British Monarch. The brilliant events of the Regency of George the Fourth, unparalleled in history, are already recorded ; his reign commenced amidst domestic losses, (his Brother, the Duke of Kent, having died very suddenly at Sidmouth, in Devonshire, six days only before their Royal Parent) public agitation, and great national distress, attended with all those factious symptoms, which the English History appears almost inva-

riably to record, as a symptom of peace. A month had not elapsed, before a most atrocious conspiracy, aiming no less than at the indiscriminate assassination of all his Majesty's Ministers during a cabinet dinner, was detected. On the twenty-first of April His Majesty met his parliament, and in his Royal Speech upon the occasion, alluded to the disquietude and distress of the kingdom, hinted at their cause, and expressed a hope, that in the returning loyalty and legal obedience of the people, a remedy for those evils would be found. The atrociousness of the conspiracy alluded to, had opened the eyes of the supine, and alarmed the fears of the timid; and a more imposing public attitude being consequently produced, tranquillity was gradually increasing in confidence. At this moment, it pleased the Queen, (who had now been separated from her Royal Husband *twenty-four years*, and had estranged herself from England for six years), to return from the continent under the auspices of *one* Wood, an Alderman of the City of London. The Queen returned, in the teeth of a proposition from the administration, that she should still continue to remain abroad, and not seek to disturb a connection so long broken off; and in defiance of a threat, that judicial proceedings would follow her landing. The intrepidity of her conduct was well calculated to please the English Nation, and this daring and inconsiderate step, (a step which her own legal adviser pronounced to be unhappily taken, both as regarded herself, the parliament, the government, and the country) was rendered immediately popular; by the epithet of *brave*. Would any but an innocent woman (said the populace) have thus conducted herself?

Whilst the Queen was pursuing her journey from Do-

ver to the metropolis, a royal message was delivering to parliament ; and papers in sealed bags brought down to both houses. The Queen arrived on the very day on which his Majesty went down to the House of Lords, to give his assent to the first bill passed since his accession. After various ineffectual delays, in the hope of effecting an arrangement, by which the Queen might have again left the kingdom ; the House of Lords proceeded to appoint a secret committee, to examine the documents sent down to them (the House of Commons suspending their proceedings), and shortly made a report on the same, charging the Queen with an adulterous intercourse with a menial of the name of Bergami, or Pergami, on whom she had conferred, or for whom she had procured certain titles and orders of distinction. A bill of Pains and Penalties was thereupon brought in by the earl of Liverpool, after long and elaborate arguments upon the propriety and applicability of the proceeding, had taken place in the House of Peers. The case presented an anomaly, for no statute existed, applicable to a charge of adultery committed by a Queen of England, *abroad and with a foreigner*. This nice distinction took the offence from within the pale of high treason, for inasmuch as the principal was not amenable to the laws of the country ; consequently the *particeps criminis* could not be judicially recognized by the statutes of treason. Every preliminary of this great measure, was discussed to the very letter, with a degree of eloquence and profound learning which reflected unfading lustre upon the House of Peers, and on the individual noblemen, who led both sides of the debates. The question appeared new, and every aspect of its bearing was most minutely and rigidly examined ; great debate more particularly took place on

the question of allowing to the illustrious accused, a list of witnesses, as in cases of high treason; when it was at length decided to open the case, produce the evidence, and allow the Queen an interval, (such as her counsel should deem requisite) to prepare her defence. Thus her Majesty was not only supplied eventually with a list of witnesses; but had the further guide of their sworn testimony. The Attorney General, (Sir R. Gifford,) opened the case according to his instructions, and by command of the house, with little preliminary remark, and certainly without inflation. Her Majesty's cause was less upheld by the evidence of the witnesses against her, (of whom the popular feeling pronounced a pre-judgment of perjury,) than by a deficiency of refutation on her own part. The Queen was most ably, most zealously, and most eloquently defended by Messrs. Brougham, Denman, Lushington and others; and the house bore the licence of their harrangues with a noble equanimity of patience. After hearing both the charge and the defence, which occupied forty-five days, the house adjourned two days, before it met to debate the principle of the bill; which discussion occupied four days. The second reading was carried by a majority of twenty-eight, the numbers being *for it* 123, *against it* 95. During the progress of the measure, several protests were entered on the Journals of the House, in one of which the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister were directly opposed to each other; a brother of the King absented himself wholly from the investigation; a cousin of the King voted against the measure in all its stages; both the Ministry and the Opposition were divided amongst themselves, and intermingled their votes; the preamble of the bill underwent but little

alteration in the committee ; and in the clause for pronouncing a divorce as part of the pains and penalties, all the Cabinet Ministers, (nine) voted against it. The divorce clause was however carried by a majority of 67, there being contents 129, non-contents 62. Most of the peers who had till this moment contended against the principle of the bill in all its stages, argued (with much plausible appearance of reason) that since the Queen was virtually pronounced guilty of an adulterous intercourse, by the votes of the second reading ; *divorce became the natural consequence, as part of the sentence of the bill*, they therefore voted for it. The third reading of the bill, was carried on the 10th November by the small majority of nine ; the numbers being for it 108, against it 99.

Lord Liverpool, (who had brought in the bill, as an individual peer, and not as a member of the administration), immediately moved, that “ the bill be read that day six months,” alledging the smallness of the majority, as the motive *.

* Bill [as read a third time], entitled An act to deprive her Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions of Queen Consort of this realm ; and to dissolve the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth.

Whereas in the year one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, her Majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, then Princess of Wales, and now Queen Consort of this realm, being at Milan, in Italy, engaged in her service, in a menial situation, one Bartolomeo Pergami, a foreigner of low station, who had before served in a similar capacity : And whereas after the said Bartolomeo Pergami had so entered the service of her Royal Highness the said Princess of Wales, a most unbecoming and degrading intimacy commenced between her said Royal Highness and the said Bartolomeo

The friends of the Queen received this unexpected reprieve from the bill, after proof of the facts, and ad-

lomeo Pergami, and her said Royal Highness not only advanced the said Bartolomeo Pergami to a high situation in her Royal Highness's household, and received into her service many of his near relations, some of them in inferior and others in high and confidential situations about her Royal Highness's person, but bestowed upon him other great and extraordinary marks of favour and distinction, and conferred upon him a pretended order of knighthood, which her Royal Highness had taken upon herself to institute, without any just or lawful authority: And whereas also her said Royal Highness, whilst the said Bartoleomo Pergami was in her said service, further unmindful of her exalted rank and station, and of her duty to your Majesty, and wholly regardless of her own honour and character, conducted herself towards the said Bartolomeo Pergami, both in public and private, in various places and countries which her Royal Highness visited, with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom, and carried on a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse with the said Bartolomeo Pergami, which continued for a long period of time, during her Royal Highness's residence abroad; by which conduct of her said Royal Highness, great scandal and dishonour have been brought upon your Majesty's family and this kingdom. Therefore, to manifest our deep sense of such scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct on the part of her said Majesty, by which she has violated the duty which she owed to your Majesty, and has rendered herself unworthy of the exalted rank and station of Queen Consort of this realm; and to evince our just regard for the dignity of the crown, and the honour of this nation; we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, do humbly entreat your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that her said Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, from and after the passing of this act,

mission of their reality, as a total and complete acquittal of her Majesty from all charge of criminality; and proclaimed their sense of her innocence by rejoicings and illuminations; to which the Lord Mayor of London, two days old in office, gave his young countenance. Less riot and disturbance however took place, than might have been expected; but this was principally owing to the moderation of their antagonists; who (whatever might be their opinion of the guilt or innocence of the Queen; and did not consider a happy escape in the light of an honourable acquittal) were not disposed to thwart the effect of a delusion which appeared in many of its features to pourtray great generosity and sympathy in supposed sufferings. The Queen returned thanks in the church of the hamlet of the parish in which she resided, and a second time on the 29th of November, at Saint Paul's, escorted by the voluntary association of her friends, and was received with due civic honour at Temple Bar by the young Lord Mayor of London. Immense as was the crowd assembled, judicious regulations, prompted by the high responsibility which the young chief magistrate took upon himself on the occasion, prevented all confusion or accident. The King had previously adjourned both

shall be, and is hereby deprived of the title of Queen, and of all the prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions, appertaining to her as Queen Consort of this realm; and that her said Majesty shall, from and after the passing of this act, for ever be disabled and rendered incapable of using, exercising, and enjoying the same, or any of them; and, moreover, that the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be, and the same is hereby, from henceforth for ever, wholly dissolved, annulled, and made void, to all intents, instructions, and purposes whatsoever.

Houses of Parliament, without a Speech either from the Throne, or by his Commissioners. The Speaker of the House of Commons was hissed as he proceeded to follow the Usher of the Black Rod to the House of Peers ; nor did he (there being no Royal Speech, but merely a command to adjourn) again enter the house. This mode of separation appeared to the nation very ungracious, and the disturbed reign of Charles the First was ransacked for precedents. But the King could hardly have avoided reference to the proceedings of the Lords, and the more especially as the Commons had been adjourned, subject to a call of the House, and to meet only for business, in the event of the bill of Pains and Penalties coming down to them. On the whole, then, it appeared better to leave the ungracious mode of adjournment for explanation till the next sessions, when men's minds might have acquired greater power of discrimination, a quality very seldom in request on popular occasions.

Thus far have I brought down (and I trust fairly and dispassionately) the outline of this transaction, as it occurred ; and with this outline (which will serve, as far as it goes, for both speculations, that of preceding "the restoration of the Queen to all her prerogatives and her court," and that of still "restraining her from their enjoyment and exercise.") I go on, in my assumed character of an historian, to observe on the consequences of such opposite results.

First then, the historian may hereafter pourtray the consequences of the Queen's restoration to her prerogatives and court, in the following manner :

"Whether the ministers mistook the popular clamour for the real feeling of the nation, or were unwill-

ing to resign their seals of office ; or whether they were intimidated by the examples of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sicily, all at this time changing their form of Government, with more or less of violence ; they advised the King *to feel no impediment* to the public reception of the Queen ; who, having now the vantage ground, insisted upon the insertion of her name in the Liturgy, and the expunging from the Journals of the House of Lords, of all the proceedings connected with her case, as preliminaries to such reception. The first was readily accomplished ; to procure the second, the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor (two of the most able ministers and upright men of the day) having retired in disgust, every parliamentary finesse was resorted to ; and at length, with great difficulty, and amid violent debates and mutual recriminations, the point was carried by a majority of one ; there being for the expunging 91 ; against it 90. Bonfires and illuminations, strong beer and roasted beasts were for a whole week the order of each successive day ; and in so great a joy, few troubled themselves to calculate upon futurity.

“ But short was the delirium, and dreadful the consequences.

“ The King was laughed at and pitied as a dupe, the Queen was openly scorned, faction was triumphant, no competent administration could be formed, and monarchy was on the wane. Those who had opposed the Queen, not from vindictive motives, but to justify the honour of the crown, felt no longer an attachment to a bauble undignified with the jewel of female chastity. The court was seldom held ; when held, neg-

lected ; official levees supplied its place. The higher and respectable ranks of life withdrew within their own pure and virtuous associations ; and that intermixture of society which is the true essence of a free government and a virtuous court, no longer existed. Rich, vulgar plebeianism took the lead in public. At foreign courts, the younger branches of the nobility experienced great difficulty of reception, not having chosen to be presented at their own ; but when received at such courts, it was considered as a matter of especial favour conceded to their peculiar situation. Thus was the national character subjected to sarcastic insult ; and thus was the lustre of the Crown of England obscured ; for whatever might have been the personal faults of its sovereigns, as individuals no more except from human frailty than the humblest of their subjects, but rather more exposed to their commission ; yet the Crown of England had been entitled, for the last century at least, to the homage due to unsullied and unquestionable honour. Such were some of the effects of the Queen's restoration.

“The evil however stopped not here ; scarcely had sufficient time elapsed to justify inconsistency, than the truth of the original charges against the Queen was loudly revived by that very press which had forced her innocence down the throats of the nation. The levellers and jacobins, who lorded over public opinion, professed to defend their change, by the discovery of some new evidence which (said they) had we known before, would have produced a different opinion. Thus, the very men who had so conspicuously advocated the cause of the Queen ; who had poured into her ears, addresses

of congratulatory exultation; who had headed her processions, and maddened the populace in her behalf; these very men, who had artfully drawn her to the very precipice of rebellion against her husband and King; these men, from whom she could not but have expected eternal friendship and never-ending adulation, finding her without influence or patronage, became within six months, her scornful foes. These very men, who had provoked the measure of expunging the whole transaction from the Records of Parliament, and who would fain have burnt, in one huge pile, every paper and every Journal which contained the adulterous evidence, themselves were the first to direct the same press which had borne down all opposition against her, to insult, remind, and mortify her. The reign of terror had commenced. Such were the effects of this unaccountable delusion! Such were the consequences of excusing and exalting vice on the frail plea of political expediency!!”

* * * * *

I proceed now (still in the character of prophetic historian) to mark the consequences which might follow the Queen's continued restriction from the public exercise of her prerogatives.

“On Friday, the 10th of November, this bill of Pains and Penalties passed the third reading, when it was *suspended*, under the form of being read that day six months, and the Lords adjourned to the 23d, the day on which the Commons were to meet, to pursue (if necessary) this important affair. On the 23d both houses met, and were instantly prorogued by Commission, without any Royal Speech. This hasty procurement

of separation gave great offence to the Queen's party; the House of Commons being summoned at the very moment when the Solicitor General of the Queen was about to communicate to the House, *a message* from her Majesty.

“ It was evident that the King could have made no Speech to the Houses of Parliament, omitting all reference to the late momentous transaction. Had his Majesty said, that he regretted the issue of it, he would have committed himself personally, besides being guilty of the most unconstitutional error; *that of presuming to know a parliamentary proceeding in transitu*, for as yet the bill was not absolutely abandoned. Had his Majesty, on the other hand, made a Royal Communication, omitting, as he must necessarily have done, all reference to the bill in question; it might have been inferred, that future proceedings, in any shape, were abandoned; besides, the interval of adjournment was but for *two* months, and not *seven or eight*, as usually happens, the bill having driven the attendance of both houses to a most unusual lateness. It was deemed therefore most prudent, to encounter the accusation of an ungracious prorogation, for so short a period as two months, rather than be hurried into any hasty avowal. But had there been no such prudent ground for the proceeding, it was sufficiently justified by the subsequent conduct of the Queen; who assumed to herself an authoritative act of government, having prepared her official adviser with *a message* to be delivered to the Commons House of Parliament; a step which might well alarm the servants of the Crown, and indeed the whole nation; for it aimed, in the shape of a message,

at a share of the Monarch's power, which the Queen Consort does not possess, *being only a subject* *. It is a radical error, for a Queen Consort to call the King's people, *her people*, or for the King's subjects to call themselves the subjects of the King's wife; it is a fault of misdirected loyalty. We may call ourselves, by way of courtesy, the Queen's most dutiful and affectionate *servants*; but legally and constitutionally we can only be the dutiful and affectionate *subjects* of 'the King.'

"During the interval between the prorogation and the meeting of both Houses, the Queen proceeded to Saint Paul's, continued to receive Addresses of Congratulation, and renewed unsuccessfully her application for a Royal Residence. But the people had now time to reflect, to compare, to decide. John Bull is never long misled, and now discovered in the case, premature judgements, audacious falsehoods, attempts at intimidation, and unproved assertions; above all, a complete absence of all those promises of refutation, which had been so lavishly and so loudly proclaimed; and the non-performance of which was the more extraordinary, inasmuch, as the persons who might, if they could, have given such testimony, were already in England, and at the Queen's command.

"Upon the meeting of Parliament, the Commons

* "The Queen hath also many exemptions and minute prerogatives. For instance, she pays no toll, nor is she liable to any amercement in any Court. But in general, unless where the law has expressly declared her exempted, *she is upon the same footing with other subjects*; and not his equal; in like manner as in the imperial law: '*Augusta, legibus soluta non est.*' Blackstone, cap. 4, page 220.

desired a conference with the Upper House, and having thereat obtained leave to search the Journals of the Peers, they became constitutionally acquainted with the late proceedings. They found therein a sentence of guilt pronounced, which (to say the least of it,) was tantamount to the effect of a true bill by a grand Jury.

“ With this impression upon their minds, the Commons soon felt, that the question was now completely in their own hands. The passing of the Civil List bill was exactly the period, when their influence would become apparent: but they previously determined once more to address the Queen, by the same deputation, which had gone up on a former occasion. This address commenced by the firm and dignified assurance of the unshaken attachment of the Commons to the throne, the constitution, and the altar, and their determination to preserve them from every attempt of factious anarchy. It proceeded to express great regret for the past, and a hope that by conciliatory measures, all further personal legislation would become unnecessary. It assured the Queen that she might rely upon the continued care and attention of the Commons; should her Majesty, by sacrificing some part of her high claims, be the means of restoring tranquillity to the public mind. It intimated that some points on which the Queen had heretofore insisted, might be the subject of future and favourable consideration; but that time was necessary to produce a change, which should justify their concession; and it finally dwelt upon the total impossibility, that even should the Queen gain the object of her wishes, it would (under existing circumstances) be attended to her, with happiness or peace of mind.”

“In answer to this address, the Queen made but few remarks; but principally dwelt on the utter impossibility of quitting a nation, who had treated her with such unbounded generosity, and espoused her cause with such enthusiastic ardour; and finally proposed, that three friends, appointed by herself, should confer with the deputation of the Commons, and agree upon a basis for a complete adjustment.” To this it was objected, that the deputation had no such power of treating; but the difficulty was eventually got over, by their consenting to meet the friends of the Queen as individuals, and subsequently use their exertions to induce the House to adopt such a course of conduct, as might result from the conference; after two meetings it was eventually agreed, *that the Queen should return to Saint Omer’s and find herself placed in the same situation, as she would have been, had her legal advisers delivered to her, Lord Liverpool’s communication of April, previously to that made by Lord Hutchinson.*”

“This departure was accomplished in so unexpected and in so judicious a manner, as far as the coast, that until the Queen was saluted by the guns at Dover, on her embarkation in a Royal Yacht, it was but just rumoured. The Queen was accompanied by two of her legal advisers, who were met by two others, on the part of the Crown. The departure of the Queen being made known to the Parliament, a most gracious vote of thanks was passed in both Houses; the Commons renewed their assurances, that they would pay all due attention to her Majesty’s interests. The Civil List bill was expeditiously passed, and a Royal Message brought down to both Houses by Ministers, in

which the King thanked the Commons for the generous provision made for the Queen's future comfort. Her Majesty's Attorney General, also on his return from Saint Omer's, expressed the Queen's thanks, accompanied by her regret, on leaving England ; but attributing the step she had taken to a thorough conviction that she could never hope to promote the happiness of the King ; and therefore her next wish was to contribute to the tranquillity of the Kingdom. He also adverted to the impaired health of the Queen ; and the possibility, that she might not again return to the Country of her adoption." " Thus ended an affair, which could not possibly have happened at a more critical moment, for whilst it was proceeding, military revolutions were following one another, through the South of Europe ; and that the mania did not extend to England, can be attributed solely to the sound principles of the vast majority of the Kingdom ; principles which were daily and hourly assailed, by a venal press ; and by a system of the most pernicious, irritating, and base political libels, and personal caricatures. But on this occasion the constitution floated above the passions of the people, safe and unhurt as her Navy rides on the turbulent billow, which dashes against Albion's rocky sides."

" Amidst these internal commotions, it pleased Providence to bless the kingdom with a most abundant harvest ; so that the winter passed over with much less proportionate privations to the humbler classes of the community. Indeed it may be rather said, that such heavenly bounty, administered by charitable hands and feeling hearts, rendered distress unknown. The following Spring found the whole nation, except certain disappointed speculating politicians, in good

humour ; and the moment was most judiciously seized to administer to the whole United Kingdom, the oath of allegiance. The ceremony was accompanied by every mark of joy and magnificence ; it was indeed a national banquet. ON THE TUESDAY, the magistracy took the oaths in the county towns. ON THE THURSDAY, the population took them in every city, town, and village, in the following manner : Lists had been previously signed, and to each list was prefixed a power by deputation to some person therein named, to take the oath publicly for as many persons as were contained in such lists ; and by its form, all persons therein subscribed were held to be bound by the oath of allegiance, recited also in such instrument. ON THE SATURDAY, the Army took the oaths, by regiments, squadrons, and detachments, at their individual quarters ; and the Navy by fifties, after the form of the general population. “ This splendid and national rejoicing seemed to annihilate every spark of disaffection.”

In the Autumn, the coronation of his Majesty took place, and the first Act of Grace performed immediately after, was, “ *to expunge from the Journals of the Lords, all the accusatory proceedings connected with the Queen of England.*”

“ This last step was considered an act of oblivion, and a compliment to the crown.” The Queen remained abroad during her life, in conformity with her word of honour.”

* * * * *

And now, my faithful subjects, and well-beloved fellow-countrymen, your King takes his leave, recommending the alternative to your attention, and praying to the God and Father of us all, that he will so direct

your steps, as to lead both to your temporal and your eternal happiness ; praying also that the crown of his forefathers may not be dishonoured on his head, but that mutual love and confidence may render happy both King and People.

My excellent subjects, may God Almighty bless you——Farewell.

GEORGE.

APOLOGY.

Should the readers of the preceding Letter, have entertained doubts of its authenticity, the Author and Publisher beg leave to satisfy those doubts, by stating, “ That it is one of those literary fictions, which can only be justified by a good cause.” Indeed they feel so high a degree of veneration for the sacred name of “ The King,” which (speaking constitutionally), “ Never dies;” and so anxious a desire, that nothing directly or indirectly should appear to trifle with its use ; that previous to their determination to publish, they submitted the following Question to the opinion of a most eminent Counsel ; which question at once proclaimed the author’s motive, and the answer subjoined, contains (we trust) our justification.

THE QUESTION.

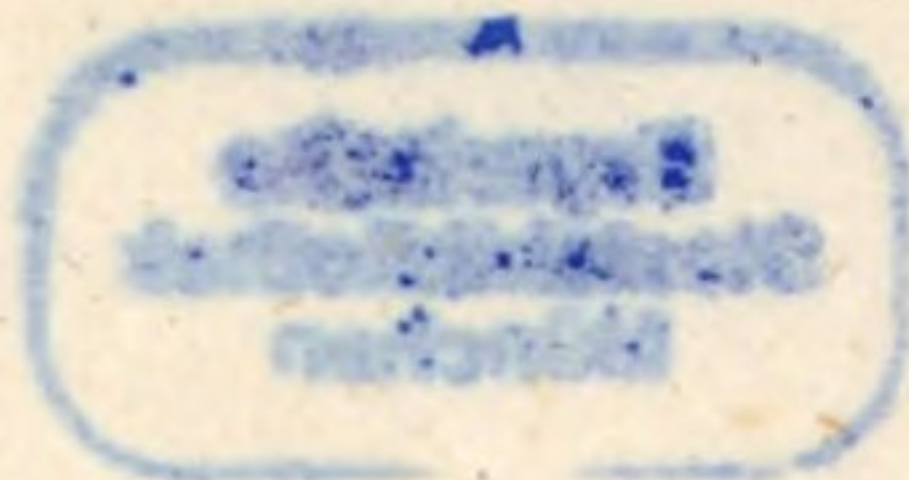
Suppose A. writes a letter entitled “ A Letter from the King,” and having written and published such letter, states, in a Postscript annexed, that such title was adop’ted to excite curiosity, and extend its political utility ; and that such Letter was neither directly or indirectly written by the King ; will such acknowledgment take the assumption of the King’s name, out of any and every statute of *premunire* ?

OPINION.

I am clearly of opinion, that such acknowledgement as is proposed, will take the Letter out of the Statutes of *premunire*. The term and the offence *premunire*, are now merely sounds; but I decidedly think, that the Letter proposed, written in the tone and spirit which is suggested, will not render the writer responsible to any penalty whatever.

Temple, December 4th, 1820.

Thus far as to the legality of the act; but should our most gracious Sovereign, chance to see a Publication thus imputed to him; we beg leave most respectfully to deprecate any sentiment of personal dissatisfaction, which he may feel at our bold assumption; assuring The King, that he does not possess among his people, more disinterestedly loyal subjects, than the Author and Publisher of this Letter.



POSTSCRIPT TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

The Amanuensis of this Letter has heard many observations made on this bold attempt of imputing to his Sovereign the sentiments contained therein. He has taken some pains to discover the feelings of the parties raising objections to it; as well as of those who consider it a *timely* boldness. He has the satisfaction of finding, that those are most violent against it, who are unable to answer its argument; and those talk insiduously of this abuse of the King's name; who are great admirers and encouragers of caricatures on his person. In some cases, there is also (even among those who think with himself) a scrupulous feeling as to the mode in which his thoughts are conveyed. Such feeling is conscientious and honourable, but on this occasion, *over nice*. The mode adopted was the only one, capable of producing a dispassionate review of the King's case; it has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectation, as four editions within a Fortnight testify.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

From the moment of deciding upon the bold step of publishing this Letter, it was also determined never to notice any reply, attack, or abuse of it. We are most happy to know, that it has convinced many of the most violent advocates of the Royal Tenant of Brandenburg House, of their injustice towards their noble-minded Sovereign.

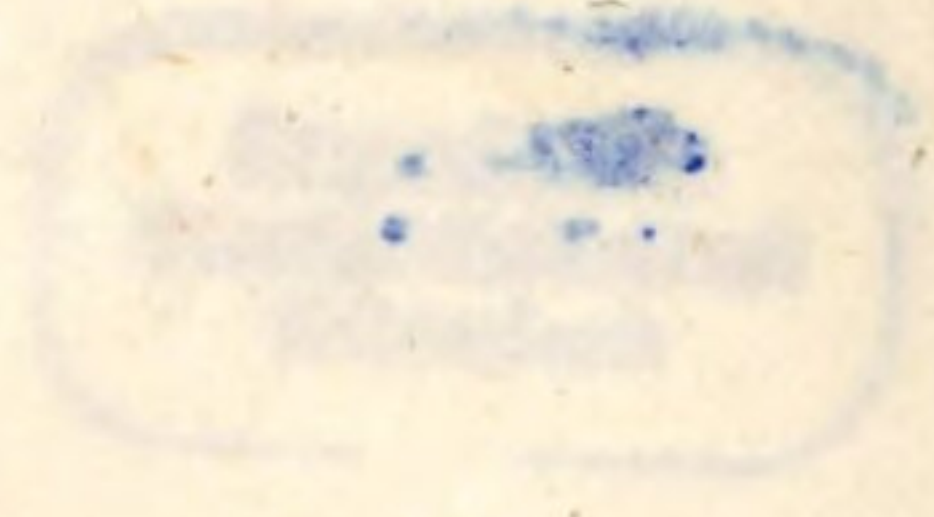
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11, Fleet Lane.



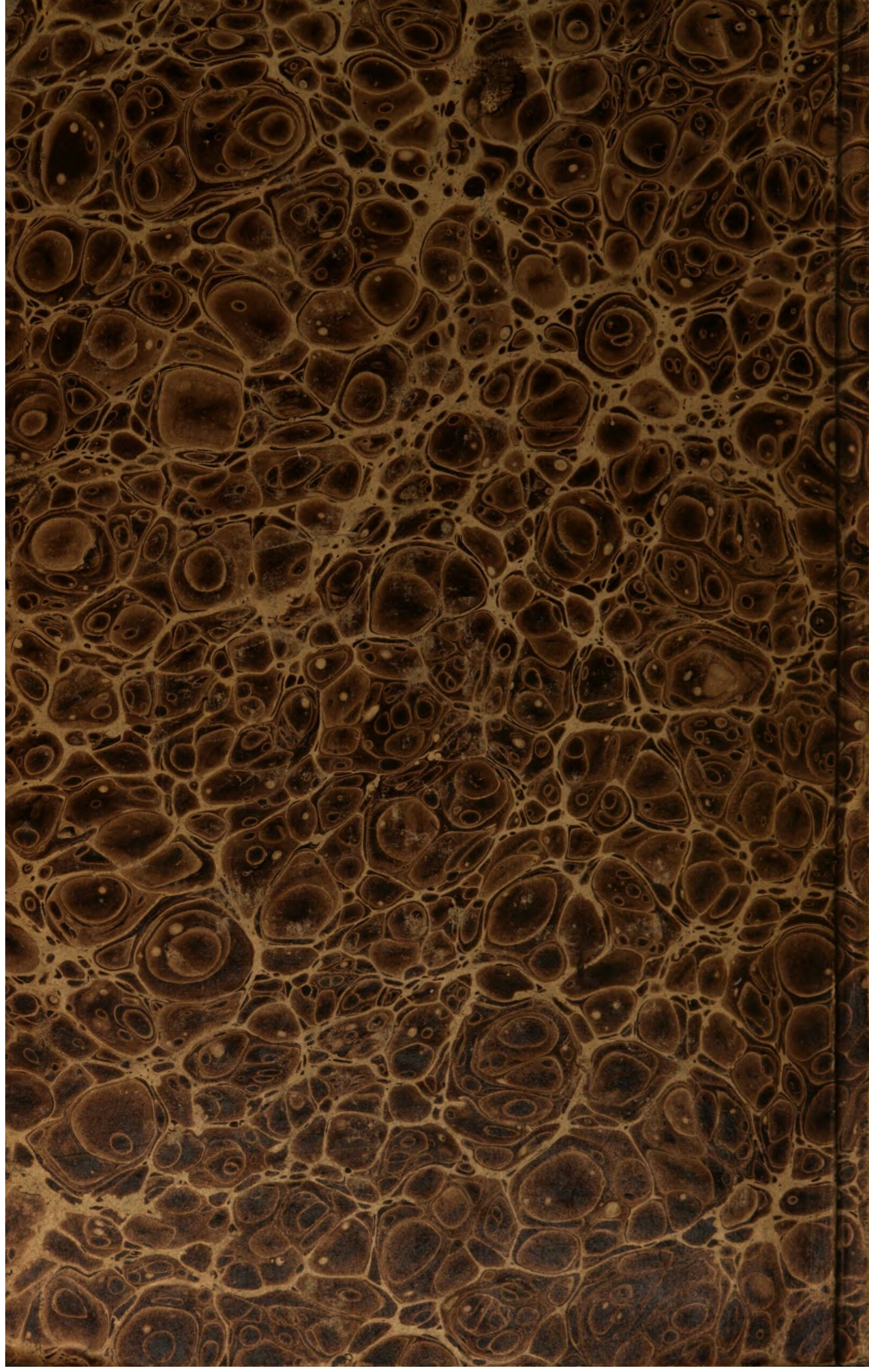
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Huish, Robert

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